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ASSOCIATION OF NEW ENGLAND AND THE CLASSICAL ASSOCIATION
OF THE PACIFIC STATES

Volume XXIX

MAY, 1934

Number 8

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THE CLASSICAL JOURNAL

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THE THIRTIETH ANNUAL MEETING

The members of the Classical Association of the Middle West and South have come to anticipate pleasant and successful annual meetings, and the thirtieth, which was held on March 29, 30, and 31 at Memphis, did not disappoint their expectations. The hosts to the Association, Southwestern and State Teachers College, as well as the Chamber of Commerce of the City of Memphis, extended to their visitors every courtesy and kindness. It was particularly gratifying to hear from the presidents of the two educational institutions strong declarations of belief in the superlative importance of the classics in the attainment of the highest educational values. President Harrer had arranged an interesting and worth-while program, and the participants presented to their hearers many inspiring, provocative, and informing papers. Furthermore, those in attendance had the pleasure of greeting again old friends and workers in the same field and gaining the inspiration that comes from the consciousness of having many comrades in a common endeavor. Not alone for the older members was this latter pleasure. To many of the younger members there came the privilege of seeing and meeting in the flesh many of those whose names are familiar to the students of the classics in America — not alone at the subscription dinner when the past presidents in attendance were introduced but also upon the various occasions presented for social converse.

All those who attended the meeting have occasion to be grateful to those whose efforts contributed to their pleasure, and to

their sentiments the following resolutions adopted by the Association give expression:

At its twenty-ninth annual meeting in Williamsburg the Association accepted the invitation of Colorado College at Colorado Springs for the annual meeting in 1934. Subsequent to the acceptance of this invitation President C. C. Mierow of Colorado College suffered a sad loss within his personal family which rendered it necessary that he spend the present year in Europe. As a result of this situation and in consideration of the stringent financial conditions existing throughout the country, the Executive Committee deemed it wise to change the place for the thirtieth annual meeting of the Association. In this emergency Southwestern and State Teachers College came forward and extended an invitation to the Association to meet in Memphis. This invitation was gratefully accepted. The Association, therefore, desires to record the great satisfaction and pleasure which have come to those members in attendance upon the thirtieth annual meeting from the cordial reception given to them by the city of Memphis and Southwestern and State Teachers College. The Association expresses herewith its appreciation:

1. To Southwestern and State Teachers College for the hospitality so generously accorded to it in furnishing meeting places for its sessions on Friday and in entertaining at luncheon and dinner on that day.
2. To President Charles E. Diehl of Southwestern and President J. W. Brister of State Teachers College for their participation in the exercises of Friday and for their gracious addresses of greeting and welcome.
3. To Co-chairmen H. J. Bassett and Nellie Angel Smith and their associates on the local committee for their zealous work in preparing for the meeting of the Association and their efficient management of the details of the meeting.
4. To the Honorable Clifford Davis, Acting Mayor of Memphis, for the official greetings extended to the Association at its dinner on Thursday night.
5. To the teachers of Latin of Memphis, the County of Shelby,

and Private and Parochial Schools for the delightful tea given on Thursday afternoon.

6. To the Memphis Chamber of Commerce, whose guest the Association was on a tour of Memphis, for its hospitality on that trip and for the historical maps of Memphis.

7. To the management of the Hotel Peabody for its generous provision of rooms for the general meetings of the Association and for committee sessions.

Since its last meeting the Association has been called to mourn the loss of the following members: Albert Robinson Crittenden of the University of Michigan; Herbert Jewett Barton of the University of Illinois, Secretary-Treasurer, 1911-15, President, 1915; Mary Leal Harkness Black, formerly of the H. Sophie Newcomb College of Tulane University, Vice President, 1921; David Russell Lee of the University of Tennessee; William Hannibal Johnson, formerly of Denison University; Elizabeth Roff Freil of Ashland, Kentucky, Vice President, 1926; Kate Taylor Sogard of Racine, Wisconsin; Harriet Cherrington of Mowrystown, Ohio.

The Association has with deep regret learned of the continued serious illness of Professor Paul Shorey. It expresses to him its sincere feeling of sympathy and its hope that his life may long be spared as a continual inspiration to classical scholarship.

The Association regrets that Professor Grant Showerman, who was invited to appear upon the program of its thirtieth annual meeting, was prevented by illness from being present. It sends its greetings to him and expresses the hope that he may experience a speedy restoration to health and strength and may be enabled to continue for many years to come that teaching and writing which have been a source of inspiration to so many teachers of the classics.

Remembering that a year ago the Association was receiving the cordial invitation of President C. C. Mierow to hold its next annual meeting at Colorado College and recalling the sad loss which turned the expected course of events for him and for us, the

members express to him their deep sympathy and the assurance that his presence has been missed at their annual gathering.

As Professor R. B. Steele was prevented by illness from presenting his paper as scheduled on the program of the meeting and from answering to his name on the roll call of ex-presidents at the dinner meeting on Thursday night, the Association expresses its regret at the enforced absence of his familiar figure from its sessions.

Executive officers elected for the following year are: President, Frederick W. Shipley, Washington University, St. Louis; First Vice President, Lena B. Tomson, Milwaukee-Downer College; Secretary-Treasurer, F. S. Dunham, University of Michigan.

The thirty-first annual meeting of the Association will be held in St. Louis, April 18, 19, and 20, 1935.

W. E. G.

PROFESSIONAL REQUIREMENTS

Upon the recommendation of the Executive Committee the Association at its recent meeting in Memphis endorsed the following conclusions and recommendations of Committee Q of the American Association of University Professors [a committee appointed to investigate the problem of required courses in Education]:

"The committee believes that it is an opportune time for this Association to express its view on the professional requirements [courses in Education] imposed upon high school teachers. The judgment of the Association as to what the American high school should be and as to the manner in which ideals for it are likely to be attained through teacher training is worthy of the fullest consideration at a time when a national appraisement of secondary teaching is being made.

"The Committee recommends that the Association endorse the following views:

"1. There is no reliable evidence that professional require-

ments have resulted in an improvement in secondary instruction at all commensurate with the amount of the requirements.

"2. A considerable lowering in the requirements would result in economy and would not lessen the effectiveness of instruction in the high school. There is, in fact, reason to believe that, on the average, teaching would be improved through a possible increased knowledge on the part of the teacher of the subjects he teaches or of related subjects.

"3. A maximum of twelve semester hours is ample to cover that part of professional training which can be regarded as essential for the beginning teacher who has a bachelor's degree from a standard college or university and who qualifies for teaching an academic subject. The training should involve practice teaching and methods, the methods course being closely integrated with the practice teaching. Courses in psychology or educational psychology, when these are required, should be counted toward the requirement.

"4. Some of the general courses which are now taken before a person has taught would be far more significant after he has had two or more years of experience. They should, therefore, not be a part of pre-service training. They should be moved into the graduate school, where they could be given a more substantial character.

"5. The basis for renewal of certificates or for advancement should not stress professional study unduly but should give emphasis to further academic study. Only in unusual cases should the total hours of professional work exceed twenty in the case of a person holding a master's degree.

"6. The basic idea underlying certification of high school principals and other officials, when special certification is required, should be very carefully considered. It should not be forgotten that such persons have a wider and deeper function in education than the mere discharge of administrative matters. Certification requirements should not emphasize one type of qualification to the neglect of others."

SUMMER WORK IN ROME

In an editorial in the March number of the JOURNAL sincere regret was expressed for the discontinuance of the Summer Session of the American School of Classical Studies in Rome. At the recent meeting of the Classical Association of the Middle West and South the following official action was taken:

"Believing that the Summer Sessions of the American Academy in Rome have been a vital source of information and inspiration to a large group of Latin teachers and that the discontinuance of these sessions has been a real blow to the teaching of Latin in this country, the Classical Association of the Middle West and South hereby *petitions* the Trustees of the American Academy in Rome to give earnest consideration to the question of resuming the Summer Sessions in 1936 if possible."

BIMILLENNIUM HORATIANUM

In furtherance of the Bimillennium Horatianum, already approved by the Classical Association of the Middle West and South at its Bloomington meeting, the Executive Committee recommends that the Association coöperate with the General Chairman (Roy C. Flickinger of the University of Iowa) appointed by the American Classical League and with the chairmen and committees already appointed or to be appointed by him and that it urge its members, and especially the state vice presidents, to lend every assistance in a celebration which is likely to arouse great popular interest and to strengthen the classical cause throughout the country.

MACAULAY'S *LAYS OF ANCIENT ROME*¹

By JOHN C. ROLFE
University of Pennsylvania

One should perhaps apologize for presenting a paper on works of which it was said in 1876 that "every line is, and long has been, too hackneyed for quotation."² That, however, was not true in 1889, when I made an edition of the Lays, now sadly in need of a revision which has received no encouragement from the publishers, and when Professor Shorey cited them frequently and aptly in his excellent commentary on the *Odes and Epodes* of Horace.

The present attitude of many toward the Lays is illustrated by the following words of William Lyon Phelps:³ "I confess that to a large extent I share the late Professor Lounsbury's unashamed enthusiasm for Macaulay's *Lays of Ancient Rome*." Now, why should so bold and confident a critic "confess" his qualified approval of the Lays, and why should Professor Lounsbury's apparently unqualified enthusiasm be characterized as "unashamed"?

The answer to these questions is undoubtedly to be found in Matthew Arnold's caustic criticism in his well-known essay "On Translating Homer," where he alludes to Dr. Maginn's *Homeric Ballads* as "vigorous and genuine poems; they are not," he continues, "one continual falsetto, like the pinchbeck *Roman Ballads* of Lord Macaulay."⁴ Never having had my attention called to these "genuine and vigorous poems" by any of my teachers of Homer and never having run across citations from them in that connection, I was perhaps unduly surprised, on looking them up, to find that they are translations of passages from the *Iliad* and

¹ Read at the sixty-fifth meeting of the American Philological Association, Washington, D.C., December 27, 1933.

² Trevelyan, *Life of Macaulay* II, 111.

³ *Scribner's Magazine* LXXIV (1923), 629.

⁴ New York, Macmillan Co. (1894), 187.

the *Odyssey* in various ballad metres. Their "vigour," therefore, these Ballads, which their editor gravely informs us are not to be confounded with the Hymns generally attributed to Homer,⁵ would seem to owe largely to their originals; and their language leaves something to be desired, even in the opinion of Arnold, who quotes a stanza as evidence that ballad metres are not appropriate for translations of Homer; but the lines caused him no physical nor mental suffering, such as we shall see he experienced from one of Macaulay's verses. As everyone, of course, is familiar with the essay "On Translating Homer," I give two other citations from these poems, which do not seem to be too hackneyed for quotation. The first is from "The Bath of Odysseus":⁶

Odysseus checked his tongue's career;
Her throat his right hand caught;
Then with his left he drew her near,
And "Nurse," said he, in tone severe,
"Dost thou my ruin plot?"

The second is from "The Dog Argus":⁷

And darksome death checked Argus' breath,
When he saw his master dear;
For he died his master's eye beneath,
Coming back in his twentieth year.

These stanzas, especially the second, brought to mind two quotations from poems presented for the Newdigate prize at Oxford that I saw somewhere many years ago; I quote from memory and with some uncertainty as to two relatively unimportant words. One was from a poem on the death of the Prince Consort and read:

And day by day the cheerless message came:
"He is no better; he is much the same."

The other was the opening lines from a poem on Nebuchadnezzar:

Thus spake he, as he champed the unwonted food:
"It may be wholesome, but it is not good."

⁵ R. Shelton McKenzie, *The Works of Dr. Maginn*: New York (1856), IV, preface, p. 1.

⁶ xxxiii.

⁷ xvi.

Now the Lays, as everyone knows, are not translations but original poems, and while they abound in classical reminiscences, I recall no instance in which any Roman writer is translated; a good example of Macaulay's method may be seen by comparing "Capys," 165 ff., with Vergil, *Aeneid* vi, 847 ff., and "Horatius" xx with Xenophon, *Anabasis* i, viii, 8, quoted below (p. 580).

Farther on in the same essay⁸ Arnold recurs to the subject in words that doubtless have made many a timid soul resolve that he would not even confess that he liked the Lays. After quoting the stanza,

Then out spake brave Horatius,
The Captain of the Gate:
"To all the men upon this earth
Death cometh soon or late,"⁹

he continues:

And here, since I have been reproached with undervaluing Macaulay's *Lays of Ancient Rome*, let me frankly say that, to my mind, a man's power to detect the ring of false metal in these Lays is a good measure of his fitness to give an opinion about poetical matters at all. I say, Lord Macaulay's

"To all the men upon this earth
Death cometh soon or late"

it is hard to read without a cry of pain.

Since Arnold is not to be suspected of misquoting, the first of these lines must be one of those which Macaulay changed in later editions, for it now reads "To every man upon this earth," which is certainly an improvement. Even the original version compares favorably with some of Dr. Maginn's lines, and the sentiment is no more banal than Horace's

*Mors et fugacem persecuitur virum,*¹⁰

or *Debemur morti nos nostraque*,¹¹ where even the rhythm might evoke a cry of pain from a sensitive soul.

⁸ *Op. cit.*, 294 f.

⁹ "Horatius" xxvii.

¹⁰ *Odes* III, 2, 14.

¹¹ *Ars Poet.* 63.

This second utterance of Arnold's is bold, not to say audacious; it would class as unfit to give an opinion on poetical matters not only Professors Lounsbury and Shorey but Arnold's own father, Arnold of Rugby, who read and commended two of the poems before their publication, and a goodly number of other competent critics, including men and women who have been generally recognized as poets of some standing. Although his criticism has unquestionably been far reaching in its effects, a fairly careful search has yielded only one direct echo, in the *Literary Estimates* of J. H. Stirling,¹² who, after quoting without date a passage from the *London Times*, which it must be admitted is a bit extravagant, says: "It is our deliberate belief . . . that the *Lays of Ancient Rome* are not poetry, but, so far as we understand the word, doggrel."¹³

Against these unfavorable criticisms might be set many of the opposite kind, but considerations of space compel a brief selection. One is tempted to quote some of the earlier ones *in extenso* both because of the fine, though somewhat Johnsonian, English in which they are expressed and also to show the seriousness with which the critics of those days took themselves and their task. Their "we" is a veritable plural of majesty. Professor Wilson of Edinburgh, perhaps better known under his pen name of Christopher North, although a political opponent of Macaulay's and a severe and sometimes even unfair critic of his literary work, reviewed the Lays in such eulogistic terms¹⁴ as to lead Macaulay to express his gratification in a letter to his friend Napier.¹⁵ The Lays were favorably reviewed also by John Stuart Mill,¹⁶ and

¹² *Jerrold, Tennyson, Macaulay, and Other Literary Estimates*: Edinburgh (1868), 146.

¹³ Our dictionaries prefer "doggrel," and their definitions do not apply to the Lays. It may be noted that Macaulay, when a student at Cambridge, twice won the Chancellor's medal, which is not awarded for doggerel; and that David Moir, in *Sketches of the Poetical Literature of the Past Half-Century* (1851), 297, speaks of him as "another of the poets who have written too little by far."

¹⁴ *Blackwood's Magazine* LII (1842), 802 ff.

¹⁵ Trevelyan, *op. cit.* II, 112 f.

¹⁶ *Westminster Review* XXXIX (1843), 55 ff.

the book was called "perfect of its kind" by Henry Morley.¹⁷ Edmund Clarence Stedman, whose centenary was recently honored by our American Society of Arts and Letters, gave Macaulay a place among the *Victorian Poets*,¹⁸ with this comment:

Within his range — little as one who met him might have surmised it — Macaulay was a poet, and of the kind which Scott would have been first to honor. "Horatius" and "Virginia" among the Roman lays, and that resonant battle cry of "Ivry," have become, it would seem, a lasting portion of English verse.

Ward also includes him among his *English Poets*,¹⁹ but "since the Lays are in everybody's hands and do not lend themselves readily to selection," he gives us "the less known *Naseby*, published in 1824; and the pathetic *Epitaph on a Jacobite* — a work of the author's maturity." In his introduction to these two poems Ward prints an extract from a letter of Elizabeth Barrett,²⁰ written to Mr. Horne in 1843:

I very much admire Mr. Macaulay and could scarcely read his ballads and remain lying down [she was an invalid at the time]. They seemed to draw me to my feet, as the mesmeric powers are said to do.

We may add Walter Savage Landor's poem on Macaulay, quoted by Stedman,²¹ and from more recent times these words of Sir Henry Mortimer Durand:²²

"Beauty is truth, truth beauty," Keats said. We must not omit the latter part of the saying. Macaulay, another writer whose verse is decried as "not poetry," is, I think, to be justified on the same grounds [that he arouses deep feeling in the great majority of men].

After citing "Horatius" xlii and xliii, he continues:

That is rough perhaps, but — not poetry? Why, it stirs your blood like a trumpet call. Poetry is for all the world, not for the critic alone.

¹⁷ Edition of the Lays, in *Cassell's National Library* (1887), preface.

¹⁸ Boston (1882), 250.

¹⁹ Student's Edition: London and New York (1880). The work has an Introduction by Matthew Arnold, but although Ward in his preface acknowledges his indebtedness to Arnold for valuable advice, he does not include Maginn among the English poets.

²⁰ *Letters of Elizabeth Barrett Browning* I, 166.

²¹ *Victorian Anthology*: Boston (1895), 13.

²² *Outlook* LXXXV (1907), 359.

Even as a critic there is difference of opinion about Matthew Arnold. Frederick Harrison²³ declares that "his judgments on our poets have passed into current opinion and have ceased to be discussed or questioned." I should feel the more abashed at venturing to question them in this instance, were it not for the words of George Saintsbury,²⁴ who says of Matthew Arnold that he is as a critic "not a good model and a still worse oracle." With reference to our present topic he remarks: "There is no pinch-beck in the Lays, because there is no pretence. Gold perhaps they are not; silver I think they are — not twenty Mr. Arnolds shall ever persuade me that they are base metal."²⁵ With our present financial outlook we may perhaps rest content with this estimate.

Whether Macaulay was a poet or not is quite a different question and is relatively unimportant. A man may have the poetic temperament and never write verse that finds a permanent place in literature, and on the other hand a cultivated man with a good ear for rhythm and metre but no claim to the title of poet may write verse that rises about the level of mediocrity. Of the latter statement Cicero is a good example.²⁶ Trevelyan²⁷ believes that Macaulay had the poetic nature, and it was doubtless this which led him to spend the time on the Lays which J. Cotter Morison thinks²⁸ would have been better employed in writing a monograph on the early history of Rome. It does not become a classical philologist to question the general principle here involved; but the monograph, if it had been written, would probably not have been a permanent contribution to the subject, while not every serious scholar could have composed the Lays, and their loss would have been a positive one not only to English literature but to classical scholars as well.

²³ *Tennyson, Ruskin, Mill, and Other Literary Estimates*: New York, Macmillan Co. (1900), 116.

²⁴ *Corrected Impressions*: New York (1895), 147.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 95.

²⁶ See *CLASSICAL JOURNAL* XIII (1918), 688.

²⁷ *Op. cit.* II, 268. Gladstone [*Gleanings of First Years*: New York (1878), II, 338] agrees with him.

²⁸ "Macaulay," in *English Men of Letters* XXVII: New York (1882), 124 f. See reviews in *The American* v, 202 f., and *Saturday Review* LIV, 760 f.

Mr. Morison, whose estimate of the Lays is somewhat fairer than his judgment of the Essays and the History, nevertheless denies Macaulay the title of poet in these somewhat fantastic words:

Directed by an immense knowledge of literature and a cultivated taste, by watching for the moments of inspiration, by the careful storage of every raindrop that fell from the clouds of fancy, he collected a small vessel full of clear limpid water, the sparkling brightness of which it would be unjust not to acknowledge. But the process was too slow and laborious to call him a poet. . . . But that is no reason why we should not admire "Horatius" as one of the best ballads in the language.²⁹

These words can hardly fail to recall Horace's lines:

*Ego apis Matinae
more modoque
grata carpentis thyma per laborem
plurimum circa nemus uvidique
Tiburis ripas operosa parvus
carmina fingo.*³⁰

One who worked in that fashion and confesses that it was *pau-pertas audax* that led him to write verses might equally well have his claim to the title of poet questioned; but no one is rash enough today to question Horace's claim to the title of poet.

Besides the general condemnation of Matthew Arnold, other criticisms of the Lays have been made which seem fanciful and unwarranted. Sometimes the critics disagree. Christopher North,³¹ for example, found the speech of Virginius before stabbing his daughter a fine example of pathos, and Trevelyan³² gives good reason for agreeing with him; but to Morison³³ it seemed a stagy declamation full of frigid conceits. Morison³⁴ thinks "The

²⁹ *Op. cit.*, 119 f. Cf. the first review (by William Roscoe Thayer), cited in note 27.

³⁰ *Odes* iv, 2, 27 ff. The "small vessel" recalls the *sextariolus* on which Augustus advised Horace to write, so that the circumference of his volume might be equal to that of his own little body (Suet., *Vit. Hor.* [L. C. L.], p. 488).

³¹ *Op. cit.*, 819.

³² *Op. cit.* II, 111.

³³ *Op. cit.*, 116 f.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 116.

Prophecy of Capys" distinctly languid; Christopher North regards it as perhaps the noblest lay of the four. Macaulay himself says that he imitated Homer,³⁵ and Christopher North, contrasting him with the "Young Poets" of his day, who "steal from all and sundry and deny their thefts," says: ³⁶ "He robs in the face of day. Whom? Homer!" But according to John Stuart Mill ³⁷ "he professes imitation of Homer, but we really see no resemblance except in the nature of the incidents and in the animation and vigour of the narrative." These features seem to me rather vital, but there are other Homeric notes: the epithets regularly used with personal and place names, "seagirt Populonia," "lordly Lacedaemon," and many others; the repetition of phrases which correspond to some extent with the epic formulas; the contests for the bodies of Tarquin and of Valerius;³⁸ and the realistic description of the wounds inflicted. Clearly an Homeric echo is the couplet,³⁹

The knees of all the Latines
Were loosened with dismay.

It seems clear that Macaulay not only imitated Homer, as he distinctly says, but that, in spite of the difference in the metres, he succeeded in giving an Homeric atmosphere to the Lays.

Morison ⁴⁰ after giving Macaulay credit for a delicate touch of color in "April's ivory moonlight," ⁴¹ which I suspect may be undeserved, goes on to say that "generally his sense of colour is weak compared with that of Scott. . . . Macaulay is grey and dun." While the first part of this statement may or may not be true, the last part is most amazing, as will, I think, be clear to anyone who reads the Lays with special attention to their color effects. There is color in abundance, and little visualizing power is required to bring it vividly before the mind's eye. Naturally,

³⁵ Macaulay's Introduction to the Lays, p. 29.

³⁶ *Op. cit.*, 806.

³⁷ *Op. cit.*, 55.

³⁸ "Regillus" xvii and xviii.

³⁹ "Regillus" xxx, 569 f.

⁴⁰ *Op. cit.*, 116.

⁴¹ "Capys" xviii, 155.

from the nature of the subjects treated, much of it is red, both the crimson of blood and the flare of blazing villages and burning watchfires; but other shades are not wanting: temples and houses wreathed with garlands; flowers showered from the windows on the Great Twin Brethren; Hermina decking black Auster's mane with colored ribbons from her own gay attire; the apple blossoms waving on Anio's echoing banks; the green of the stag's path up the Ciminian Hill and of the fields of April corn; and the green steeps whence Anio leaps, in floods of snow-white foam; the armor of the Tuscan host, flashing back the noonday light, rank behind rank, like surges bright of a broad sea of gold; the white streets of Tusculum; the white porch of Horatius' house shining on the Palatine Hill; Sardinia's snowy mountain tops fringing the southern sky; the dark blue sea overhung by the Witch's fortress; the purple of the distant hills. These are by no means all the instances that might be cited, but they are sufficient, I think, to show that the atmosphere of the Lays is not "grey and dun." Except for

The grey crag where, girt with towers,
The fortress of Nequinum lowers
O'er the pale waves of Nar,

and some other passages where greyness and dunness are entirely appropriate, we have color in abundance.⁴² Morison goes on to say that Macaulay appeals more to the sense of hearing than to that of sight, instancing "Regillus," xxxvii, 709 ff.:

Since the first gleam of daylight,
Sempronius had not ceased
To listen for the rushing
Of horse-hoofs from the east.

But Macaulay's choice of words is a particularly happy one, for Sempronius Atratinus, who

Was left in charge at home,
With boys and with gray-headed men
To keep the walls of Rome⁴³

⁴² Cf. "Virginia," 553 ff.

⁴³ "Regillus" ix, 141 ff.

is evidently conceived of as an aged man, whose sight was doubtless dim; for in describing a precisely similar situation, where the watcher is not a patriarch, in a passage which I shall quote later, Macaulay appeals in a striking way to the sense of sight. Even in the very instance that Morison cites we have a picture brought clearly before our eyes:

The mist of eve was rising,
The sun was hastening down,
When he was aware of a princely pair
Fast pricking towards the town.

So like they were, man never
Saw twins so like before;
Red with gore their armor was
Their steeds were red with gore.⁴⁴

We are not even informed whether Sempronius "was aware" of the approach of the Great Twin Brethren through sight or through sound, but in any event our own sense of sight is clearly appealed to.

It is true that the Lays ring with sound. We hear the stroke of the woodman's axe; the creaking wagons choking the roaring gates; the blare of trumpets; the yells of execration; the busy hum of the Forum; the Homeric laughter of the Tuscan host, when opposed by the Dauntless Three; the crash of the falling bridge; the howling of the wolves; the roar of the winter's fire vying with that of the tempest; the shouting of the slayers, the shrieking of the slain; the thunder of black Auster's hoofs through the startled villages; not to mention the cries of pain wrung from the disciples of Matthew Arnold. But all this is attended with no sacrifice of color effects. In fact, the use of color is more marked than that of sound, and where either might be appealed to, color is often preferred.

The utterly superficial nature of Morison's remark about hearing and sight is shown by a third passage, where the dictator says:

Caius, of all the Romans
Thou hast the keenest sight;

⁴⁴ "Regillus" xxxvii, 713 ff.

Say, what through yonder storm of dust
Comes from the Latian right? ⁴⁵

And Caius says: "I see an evil sight," and describes it without a hint of sound. Again, in describing the pouring of the population from the country into Rome, Macaulay says: ⁴⁶

A fearful sight it was to see
Through two long nights and days,

and the two stanzas that follow present a series of pictures, while only in the last four lines is the sense of hearing appealed to.

Ward,⁴⁷ after quoting from Miss Barrett's letter ⁴⁸ the sentence, "he has a noble, clear, metallic note in his soul and makes us ready by it for battle," then delivers himself of another of those superficial criticisms which are so impressive, unless they are looked into. He says:

One of her epithets, which she uses *honoris causa*, we may accept as fairly characterising the evil element in his mind (*sic!*) — the epithet "metallic." His ballads have the clear resonance of the trumpet; they have its hardness too.

This criticism is more subtle than the question of color and sound. The Romans were a hard folk, and their deeds were hard, and we hear in the Lays much of the din of battle; but softer elements were not lacking in Roman life, and to these Macaulay has given a remarkable prominence. What is there, for example, of the hardness of the trumpet's blast in the description of country life or in the picture of Roman home life in "Horatius"? ⁴⁹

Without going further into details, we may mention the description of the peaceful aspect of the field of Regillus years after the battle;⁵⁰ the catalog of the Latin cities;⁵¹ the vision of false Sextus;⁵² the description of Virginia;⁵³ and the picture of an early morning in Rome:⁵⁴

⁴⁵ "Regillus," xx, 421 ff.

⁵² "Regillus" xii, 215 ff.

⁴⁶ "Horatius" xiii, 104 ff.

⁵³ "Virginia," 57-80.

⁴⁷ *Op. cit.*

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 89-102.

⁴⁸ See page 571, above.

⁴⁹ "Horatius" vii and lxviii-lxx.

⁵⁰ "Regillus" iii, 37-48.

⁵¹ "Regillus" x.

Over the Alban mountains
 The light of morning broke;
 From all the roofs of the Seven Hills
 Curled the thin wreaths of smoke:
 The city gates were opened;
 The Forum, all alive
 With buyers and with sellers,
 Was humming like a hive;
 Blithely on brass and timber
 The craftsman's stroke was ringing,
 And blithely o'er her panniers
 The market-girl was singing.

There are many other passages that might be cited in reply to Ward's criticism; against it, too, may be set the opinion of John Stuart Mill:

The externals of Roman life, and the feelings characteristic of Rome and of that particular age, are reproduced with great fidelity and without being made unduly predominant over the universal features of human nature and human life.⁵⁵

The purpose of this paper will have been attained, if I have made it clear that there is no valid reason why the Lays should not be restored to the place they once had, namely, in the English reading required of students preparing for college. In this first reading the special allusions will, of course, be lost, and the musical old Latin names of persons and places will in most cases be merely names. Still they may well have on the youthful mind the effect which Thoreau describes in his *Cape Cod*:⁵⁶

It was a poetic recreation to watch those distant sails steering for half fabulous ports, whose very names are a mysterious music to our ears; Fayal, and Babel-mandeb, ay, and Chagres, and Panama — bound to the famous Bay of San Francisco, and the golden streams of Sacramento and San Joaquin, to Feather River and the American Fork, where Sutter's Fort presides, and inland stands the City de los Angeles.

As these words might tempt a boy to run away to sea, so the Lays might well rouse in him a desire for a closer acquaintance

⁵⁵ *Op. cit.*, 56.

⁵⁶ Olcott's edition: Boston (1914), 143.

with Volaterrae, Samothracia, Cyrene, Ferentinum, and other names whose "mysterious music" should be no less seductive.

Later on, when the student has read more widely, he may turn to the Lays again, and wide indeed will his reading have been if he needs no notes to help him understand the many allusions and to call his attention to the many reminiscences of classical writers. One cannot but marvel at the wealth of material of this kind in the poems; and yet there is nothing Alexandrine about Macaulay's allusions. There is no offensive display of erudition, and one reasonably versed in old Italian geography and in Roman literature does not need a classical dictionary always by his side.

Macaulay himself wisely abstained from adding to his work the notes and excursions which make so many historical novels unattractive without adding to their interest either for the scholar or for the general reader. As he justly says,⁵⁷ "to a learned reader they are not necessary; for an unlearned reader they would have little interest." Only occasionally does he give any explanation of his allusions, as in "Capys," where he justifies his couplet,

The beast who hath between his eyes
The serpent for a hand,⁵⁸

by two references to Lucretius,⁵⁹ in which the Roman poet applies the epithet *anguimanus*, or "snake-handed," to the elephant. As to this Lay I find myself in agreement with Mill⁶⁰ in regarding it as one of the best of the four. The concluding stanza seems to me to refute all the criticisms that I have touched upon: It is poetic, it is not without color, it gives in a few well-chosen words characteristics that bring the places alluded to before the mind's eye, and there is no suggestion of hardness or falsetto.

A thick and not uninteresting book might be made of the classical echoes in the Lays, but I shall confine myself to two, which I have not seen mentioned elsewhere. One is the description of the cloud of dust that marks the approach of the Tuscan host and

⁵⁷ Macaulay's Introd., p. 29.

⁵⁸ Vss. 203 f.

⁵⁹ II, 537, and v, 1303.

⁶⁰ See page 574, above.

the gradual appearance of the army through it as it draws nearer: ⁶¹

On the low hills to westward
 The Consul fixed his eye,
 And saw the swarthy storm of dust
 Rise fast along the sky.
 And nearer fast, and nearer,
 Doth the red whirlwind come;
 And louder still, and still more loud,
 From underneath that rolling cloud,
 Is heard the trumpet's war-note proud,
 The trampling and the hum.
 And plainly and more plainly
 Now through the gloom appears,
 Far to left and far to right,
 In broken gleams of dark-blue light,
 The long array of helmets bright,
 The long array of spears.

It has always seemed to me that Macaulay must have had in mind the less detailed, but not less striking description of Xenophon of the approach of Artaxerxes' army at Cunaxa, a passage that impressed me, even as a schoolboy, as being of singular dramatic effectiveness:

Καὶ ἦδη τε ἦν μέσον ἡμέρας καὶ οὕτω καταφανεῖς ἦσαν οἱ πολέμιοι · ἦνίκα δὲ δεῖλη ἐγίγνετο ἐφάνη κονιορτὸς ὥσπερ νεφέλη λευκή, χρόνῳ δὲ συγχῷ ὑστερον ὥσπερ μελανία τις ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ ἐπὶ πολὺ· δτε δὲ ἐγγύτερον ἐγίγνοντο, τάχα δὴ χαλκός τις ἡστρατεί καὶ αἱ λόγχαι καὶ αἱ τάξεις καταφανεῖς ἐγίγνοντο.⁶²

"And now it was midday, and not yet were the enemy in sight. But as afternoon came on, there appeared a mass of dust like a white cloud and some time afterward a sort of blackness wide extended over the plain. And when they got nearer, right soon there was a flash of bronze and spearpoints, and the serried lines came in sight."

The second is in "Capys":

In the hall-gate sat Capys,
 Capys the sightless seer;

⁶¹ "Horatius" xx, 158-173.

⁶² *Anabasis* I, viii, 8.

From head to foot he trembled
As Romulus drew near.⁶³

The trembling is the effect of divine inspiration, as in Shakespeare's *Tempest*, where Caliban, mistaking the shakiness of the drunken sailor for the magic influence of Prospero, says: ⁶⁴ "Thou dost me yet but little hurt; thou wilt anon, I know it by the trembling: now Prosper works upon thee." It is little touches like this that justify Thackeray's comment,⁶⁵ which, though written of the Essays and the History, applies equally well to the Lays:

Take at hazard any three pages of the *Essays* or *History*, and glimmering below the stream of the narrative, as it were, you, an average reader, see one, two, three, a half-score of allusions to other historic facts, characters, literature, poetry, with which you are acquainted. . . . Your neighbor, who has *his* reading and his little stock of literature stowed away in his mind, shall detect more points, allusions, happy touches, indicating not only the prodigious memory and vast learning of this master, but the wonderful industry, the honest, humble previous toil of this great scholar. He reads twenty books to write a sentence; he travels a hundred miles to make a line of description.

If anyone thinks this an exaggeration, let him try to write an adequate commentary on the *Lays of Ancient Rome*.

⁶³ xi, 93 ff.

⁶⁴ ii, 2, 82.

⁶⁵ *Roundabout Papers*, *Nil nisi bonum*, p. 7.

A COMPARISON OF OVID AND APULEIUS AS STORY-TELLERS

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Publius Ovidius Naso and Lucius Apuleius can claim identity in neither epoch, native land, interests, nor temperament. Ovid (43 B.C.-A.D. 18) lived in the Augustan era, the " 'Golden Age' of oratory and of the poets,"¹ when men of letters flourished under the blessings of imperial patronage. Apuleius (A.D. 120-125?) was born in the lesser "Silver Age" of the Latin language, when the use of the vernacular was attaining marked prominence.

Ovid was born at Sulmo, ninety miles from Rome, and lived in Rome most of his life; Apuleius was born in Madaura, on the borders of Numidia and Gaetulia in Africa, and made Carthage his home. Both authors were sons of well-to-do families and enjoyed the privilege of study at Athens and the broadening influence of travel. Ovid studied rhetoric at Rome; at Rome, says Apuleius, "by great industry, and without instruction of any schoolmaster, I attained to the full perfection of the Latin tongue."² The responsibilities and duties of public office held no interest for Ovid, and he sought the means of living the life of ease he desired, moving in a circle of literary artists and becoming exhilarated by his contact with them, and having the leisure to write the verses which slipped so readily from his pen. Apuleius was of a more aggressive turn of mind. From Carthage, his home, he made tours about different African towns, lecturing on philosophic subjects, and acting the part of a Greek sophist, except that he wrote and spoke in Latin instead of in Greek. He had

¹ Duff, J. Wight, *A Literary History of Rome*: London, Adelphi Terrace, T. Fisher Unwin (1914), page 24.

² Apuleius, *The Golden Ass*, translated by W. Adlington (1566), and revised by S. Gaselee: London, William Heinemann, and New York, G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1922. *The Preface of the Author to His Son Faustinus*, page xxiii.

a lively interest in religion, philosophy, and magic. To Christianity he evidences a definite aversion, and in one portion of the *Metamorphoses* he describes the actions of a depraved woman which he attributes to her belief in Christianity.³ He approves of the rites of the Eastern mystery religions and has his hero become a devotee of one of these cults. Magic, of course, pervades his whole work, since the plot hinges upon the hero's unfortunate transformation into an ass.

In his love affairs Ovid was flighty and irresponsible. He was married three times, but only his third wife received much lasting consideration and respect from the poet. Ovid did not have the makings of a model husband. The marriage of Apuleius when a young man to the wealthy and considerably older Aemilia Pudentilla had a different aspect. Apuleius was nursed by Pudentilla when he became ill at Oea, on his way to Alexandria. Afterwards he fell in love with her and married her. Because Pudentilla had married a man beneath her station, her relatives accused Apuleius of beguiling her by means of magic. It was in defense of his innocence that Apuleius wrote his *Apologia*, which successfully cleared him.

Besides his *Metamorphoses*, each writer published other works, though Ovid, according to our knowledge, was a more copious writer than Apuleius. His *Amores*, *Heroides*, *Fasti*, and *Tristia* are only a portion of his complete works, which included one lost tragedy, his *Medea*. Love forms the subject for a great part of his writings, and a romantic flavor pervades all of it. Apuleius, on the other hand, devoted himself to philosophy and kindred subjects, and conveyed his views to his fellow countrymen by his speeches and discourses. Consequently, his works other than the *Metamorphoses* fall into one general category. His *Apologia*, *Florida* (a motley collection of choice excerpts from his speeches), a dialogue on the god, or $\delta\alpha\mu\omega$, of Socrates, and a discourse on Plato and his doctrines comprise the known works of Apuleius.

The African man of letters, so far as we know, suffered no such tragic reversal of fortunes in his later life as did Ovid. Exiled

³ *Ibid.*, Book IX, chapter 14, page 423 ff.

from the brilliant, sophisticated, highly civilized society of the Rome he loved to the barbarous environment and civilization of Tomi on the Black Sea, Ovid died heartbroken in his disappointment. Concerning the date of Apuleius' death we have no information.

Both men seem to have enjoyed popularity with their contemporaries. Ovid gained much favor with the people of Tomi, for they relieved him of the responsibility of any public burdens.⁴ William Adlington, a sixteenth century English translator of the *Metamorphoses* of Apuleius, says of his physical appearance: "He himself was of an high and comely stature, grey-eyed, his hair yellow, and a beautiful personage."⁵ This is plainly taken from the hero's description of himself in Book II of the *Metamorphoses*,⁶ however, and cannot, therefore, be given absolute credence.

In their *Metamorphoses* Ovid and Apuleius differ widely in both subject matter and treatment. Ovid proposed to write, in the vehicle of dactylic hexameter, an account of the "changes," or transformations, effected by the power of the gods from the beginning to his own time. Most of his stories are of Greek origin, but in the latter part of his work Ovid brings in the stories of Aeneas and Romulus, and finally of Julius Caesar and his adopted son, the reigning emperor Augustus. Ovid does not confine himself to metamorphoses, but includes some other legends that pleased his fancy. Throughout he does not seek to strengthen his readers' faith in the old myths or in the gods themselves. He rather states his attitude in *Ars Amatoria*, Book I, line 637, when he says,

Expedit esse deos; et, ut expedit, esse putemus.

The subject of metamorphoses had often been used before Ovid by Greek poets, and especially by Alexandrians. Very likely Ovid tapped the original sources rather freely for his own work. His

⁴ Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, George Stuart, editor, New York, Noble and Noble, Publishers, 1927. *Life of Ovid*, page vii, Volume II.

⁵ Adlington's translation, *op. cit.*, *The Life of Lucius Apuleius Briefly Described*, page xix.

⁶ *Ibid.*, Book II, chapter 2, page 51.

choice of words is excellent, and his combination of words really masterful. Mr. Duff says that "there is no greater master of neatness in line and phrase."⁷

Apuleius' work has entirely different subject matter and treatment. It is written in prose in eleven books. Contrary to the great number of metamorphoses in Ovid's work, I can think of but three instances of change recorded by Apuleius — the transformation of Lucius into an ass and his retransformation to human shape, and the change of Pamphile into an owl by magic arts. I suppose that the reason for the title *Metamorphoses*, instead of some name more appropriate to the general character of the stories contained, is that the stories for the most part are the experiences the hero encounters, or the incidents he observes, during his life as an ass. Magic and the effects of magic are given a prominent place, but transformations are conspicuously lacking. The plot, or idea, of his work was taken from a Greek composition entitled *Λούκιος ἡ ὄνος*, but has been greatly enlarged by Apuleius with additional stories. Many of the tales may have originated in the different collections of "facetiae" which became common in later Greek and Roman literature and are now almost altogether lost.⁸ There was one especially popular group of "facetiae" called the *Milesian Tales*, collected by Aristides and translated into Latin by the historian Sisenna in the time of the late Republic. These stories are of a rather questionable nature morally, and Apuleius does not gloss the facts in his narratives. But he tells his stories in such jolly high spirits and seems to be enjoying himself so much, that the reader overlooks what he would condemn in another author and joins in the fun. Boccaccio's *Decameron* and the *Golden Ass* have been compared in their effects,⁹ and the Italian writer must thank Apuleius for at least two of his tales.

The translation used for the *Metamorphoses* of Apuleius is a revised version of the sixteenth century English translation (1566) of William Adlington. As Mr. Gaselee, the reviser, says,

⁷ Duff, *op. cit.*, page 601.

⁸ Adlington's translation, *op. cit.*, *Introduction* by S. Gaselee, page vii.

⁹ *Ibid.*, page vii.

"We are fortunate indeed in possessing an Elizabethan translation of the *Golden Ass*, for the language of no other age of our literature could make any attempt to represent the exuberance of the original."¹⁰

The Latin employed by Apuleius is rather difficult and obscure to one who has been used to the diction of the classic period. Latin was not his native language, but he acquired mastery of its use through his own efforts. He uses some rare, almost obsolete words in his vocabulary, and some that are queer and rakish. His style is not conventional, but a fittingly mystifying medium for the mystifying tales he meant to tell. Apuleius in his introductory words makes apology for any oddities in his use of the Latin language:

Behold, I first crave and beg your pardon, lest I should happen to displease or offend any of you by the rude and rustic utterance of this strange and foreign language.¹¹

Of post-classic literature Mr. Duff says: "With the decay of chastened form there was often a decided gain in human interest. This is illustrated by the vigorous freshness of those tales of adventure whereby Petronius and Apuleius anticipated the picturesque romance."¹²

Both Ovid and Apuleius have the enviable faculty of telling a good story. The reader's interest does not slacken during any of the tales. In my own opinion, both writers suffer the interest to wane in the closing portions of their works, when Ovid gives his glorification of Roman history and Augustus, and Apuleius has his renegade hero become a pious devotee of a mystery religion.

Ovid gives a light, refined, and graceful touch to his telling of the old myths. He relates with sympathy how Telethusa bore a girl to Ligdus, who had said he would raise no child but a boy; how Telethusa gave her child a name of common gender, Iphis, and raised her as a boy; how the girl Iphis was betrothed to the lovely young Ianthe, one whom she deeply loved, yet hopelessly;

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, page viii.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, Book I, chapter 1, page 3.

¹² Duff, *op. cit.*, page 668.

and how at last, on the day before the wedding, Telethusa prayed fervently to Isis and received a wondrous answer: for as the mother left the temple,

Iphis walked beside her as she went, but with a longer stride than was her wont. Her face seemed of a darker hue, her strength seemed greater, her very features sharper, and her locks, all unadorned, were shorter than before.¹³

And the next day "the boy Iphis gained his Ianthe."¹⁴ We should expect Venus to answer such a diffidently hesitating prayer as Pygmalion makes when he asks for a maiden like the beautiful figure he has fashioned of ivory, and we are warmly happy when his beloved ivory woman becomes living flesh.¹⁵ We feel the agonizing hopelessness of Myrrha's shameful passion for her own father,¹⁶ the beauty and grace of Atalanta who swiftly outruns all suitors except the shrewd Hippomenes,¹⁷ the dreadful premonitions of Alcyone for her beloved Ceyx and the preservation of their wonderful love in the two birds for whose sake the winds and waves are at rest during "Halcyon" days.¹⁸ At the sight of Polydorus, Hecuba's lost child — the one for whom she had taken courage to live — lying dead and mutilated, all the other Trojan women shrieked, but Hecuba "was dumb with grief."¹⁹ Only Ovid would think that Mount Tmolus, at the beginning of the musical contest between Pan and Apollo, "shook his ears free of the trees";²⁰ and that Aurora, ever since the tragic death of Memnon, her son, first caused her to grieve, "weeps pious tears and bedews the whole world with them."²¹

The tales of Apuleius are primarily stories of adventure. The hero, Lucius, after preliminary travels and experiences, is charmed

¹³ Stuart's translation, *op. cit.*, Volume II, Book IX, lines 770-790, pages 59-61.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, Book IX, line 797, page 61.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, Book X, lines 274-289, page 85.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, Book X, lines 300-502, pages 85-99.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, Book X, lines 560-680, pages 105-113.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, Book XI, lines 383-748, pages 147-173.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, Book XIII, line 538, page 267.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, Book XI, lines 157-158, page 131.

²¹ *Ibid.*, Book XIII, lines 621-622, page 273.

by the attractions of Fotis, a pretty serving girl whose mistress is a sorceress and magician of considerable power. Lucius, who is interested in magic arts, begs Fotis to secure from her mistress some ointment that will transform him into a bird. Through an unfortunate error, Fotis gives him the wrong concoction, and he becomes, to his horror, an ordinary, shaggy ass. Chagrined at her mistake, Fotis assures Lucius that he can be returned to his former shape if he but finds some roses and eats them. The tribulations he endures, and the people he encounters, before he succeeds in swallowing those roses form a delightful collection of vividly drawn stories of action, adventure, love, magic, and fantasy. The wounded robber captain who chooses to kill himself rather than to allow his comrades to risk their lives for his sake draws a sort of admiration from us;²² the utter despair of the captive gentlewoman, who has been stolen from her lover on her wedding day, excites a very real sympathy;²³ we are truly crestfallen when her brave escape on the ass is so heartlessly foiled by the omnipresent robbers;²⁴ and we rejoice when Tlepolemus, by his clever posing as a notorious robber, brings about the rescue of both maiden and ass from the hands of the thieves, and from the cruel death that had been planned for them.²⁵ Many short stories of unlawful love and the deceits of women intervene before the long-postponed retransformation of the ass Lucius to the man Lucius is realized at the festival of Isis, when, as appointed in vision by the goddess, Lucius eats a garland of roses offered him by the priest.²⁶ We rejoice at this satisfying dénouement, and feel that the rest of the book, though interesting for its description of mystic rites and ceremonies, yet presents an anticlimax to the hero's previous sensational experiences.

The most famous, and the most lovely, of the tales of Apuleius is the story of Cupid and Psyche²⁷ which the robbers' old house-

²² Adlington's translation, *op. cit.*, Book IV, chapter 11, page 161.

²³ *Ibid.*, Book IV, chapters 23-27, pages 179-185.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, Book VI, chapters 27-30, pages 289-295.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, Book VII, chapters 4-13, pages 305-321.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, Book XI, chapter 13, page 361.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, Book IV, chapter 28 — Book VI, chapter 24, pages 185-285.

keeper tells to cheer the captive gentlewoman. It is by far the longest single tale in the book and shows Apuleius in what is perhaps his best, and at least his most refined, manner. Psyche, a divinely beautiful maiden, was receiving all the honors formerly given to Venus. In jealous rage, Venus sent Cupid to inflame her heart with a love for "the most miserable creature living, the most poor, the most crooked, and the most vile."²⁸ Psyche's parents, in obedience to an oracle which had stated that Psyche must be exposed on a high rock because her lover was a loathsome serpent, carried out a mythical wedding ceremony and then left Psyche alone on the hill-top. But Psyche had found favor with the youthful god of love and was carried by a gentle Zephyr to a pleasant valley and the palace of Cupid. There she lived and was waited upon by mysterious voices who fulfilled her every wish. Cupid came to her, invisible and unknown, at night, and she became the wife of this unknown husband. She longed to see her two sisters, but Cupid warned her not to be persuaded by them to discover his identity. After three visits to the palace, however, the wicked sisters persuaded Psyche to take a lamp at night-time and look upon her husband. When she attempted the deed, she caught sight of the ravishing beauty of the young god and pricked her finger with one of his arrows. But an ill fate made a drop of oil fall upon Cupid's shoulder. He awoke and fled precipitately, leaving Psyche to lament alone and seek deserved revenge upon her sisters. Venus meanwhile had heard of Cupid's secret love for the object of her hatred and was inflamed with rage. Though Psyche, after wandering distractedly over the earth, implored aid of Ceres and Juno, they were obliged to refuse to ally themselves against their sister goddess, Venus. Psyche decided to beseech mercy of Venus voluntarily; but as she approached the celestial palace, she was seized by a servant and dragged into the august presence of the goddess. Venus ordered poor Psyche to be grievously tormented and then set Gargantuan tasks which she must accomplish. She received aid from various creatures in all her labors and was successful. On her last errand

²⁸ *Ibid.*, Book IV, chapter 31, page 191.

she was made to descend into Hades to procure a box of beauty from Proserpina. As she was retracing her steps homeward, she was forced through curiosity to open the box and was overcome by the deep sleep which had filled it. But Cupid came, "wiped away the sleep from her face, and put it again into the box, and awaked her with an harmless prick of the tip of one of his arrows."²⁹ Then he flew swiftly to Jupiter and received promise of his divine aid. The king of the gods called a general council and bade them accept Psyche as the wife of Cupid. To Venus he declared that this marriage would be no disgrace because of its inequality. "And then he took a pot of immortality, and said: 'Hold, Psyche, and drink to the end thou mayest be immortal, and that Cupid may never depart from thee, but be thine everlasting husband.'"³⁰

As a final comment upon the *Metamorphoses* of Ovid and Apuleius, I wish to say that the reader thoroughly enjoys their stories. They both hold the interest and stir the imagination. Ovid is the sophisticated raconteur of tales whose subjects deal almost without exception with the emotion of love. Apuleius is the brusque, vivid, vulgar narrator of bold tales of love and action. There is far more humor in Apuleius than in Ovid, but there is more subtle finesse in the Augustan poet. The diction of Ovid's work is undoubtedly more smooth and polished than is the vernacular of the African Apuleius. But after all, we like different sorts of stories. We can become satiated with too many tragic love affairs just as we can have too much of robbers and flamboyant tricksters. We pay tribute to Ovid's artistry, refinement, dramatic power, and beautiful imagery; and we honor the wit, vivacity, rapid movement, and warm sympathy that belong to Apuleius. Both captured with their facile pens the shreds of tales that kept fluttering in their minds. And then they knotted the shreds with a fantastic twist and wove them together into a pattern all their own.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, Book VI, chapter 21, page 279.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, Book VI, chapter 23, page 283.

SO THIS IS ARCHAEOLOGY

By VERNE B. SCHUMAN
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It was a cool morning in November. A look at my watch had shown the time to be six, and I lay in bed expectantly. There was a light tap on the door, and in answer to my "Talla" (Come in!) in walked Muhammed Mustapha. He greeted me, shuffled across the room to my bed, and placed a tray containing my morning tea on a small stand. His head was bundled up in a scarf borrowed from the head servant, and to look at him one might have supposed the temperature to be somewhere near zero. The size of his feet revealed the reason for his shuffling. Without further ado he departed while I lay musing as to the possibility of lying in bed for a few more minutes. It was my day on the "dig," and I had to start the work at 6:30. Finally, taking courage, I threw back the covers and sat up. Having put on my bedroom slippers after thoroughly shaking them to see that no scorpions or beetles had crawled inside for a warm night's repose, I dashed across the room to snap on the lights and to take a hurried wash, followed by dressing between gulps of hot tea. Then, seeing that all the necessary paraphernalia, notebook, pencil, whistle, and tapeline, were stored away in various pockets, I went forth to the courtyard gate.

A short distance in front of the camp house were figures of many children seated and standing and others riding up on little donkeys — figures silhouetted against the brightening morning sky. At the gate were the two laundry girls and one of the native foremen. They, too, were bundled up in many clothes and I must admit that I was wearing a heavy sweater and a gabardine. It was very cold. The temperature must have been 50° at least!

"Naharkum said" (May your day be happy), I said to the trio.

"May yours be happy and blessed," they replied. "Greetings." I reached into a pocket, pulled out the whistle, and with a loud toot as the watch showed 6:30 started up the hill with some three hundred fifty workers, while the laundry girls retired to the laundry at the back of the house.

The sun was just coming above the horizon as we topped the hill, and the shadows of everyone and everything stretched out into the distance behind us. Fog was hanging low over the fields and veiling the villages of mud houses that lay not far away, while fingers of smoke curled up here and there above the roofs and mist. Only a few palm trees were lifting their topmost branches to view. Everyone was in the best of spirits. It was the beginning of a new day. Who knew what it would bring forth? God willing, there would be luck. I hastened ahead, reached the area in which work was being done, climbed upon the mud-brick wall of one of the houses that were being excavated, and from this point looked back upon the procession as it made its way toward me. The rays of the rising sun struck the five-gallon gasoline tins (used for carrying water for the workers) which twenty girls were carrying and which shot their bright reflections at me. Soon everyone had found his place, and the work began.

It was cold, and the children walked slowly as they carried upon their heads the baskets filled with dirt dug out from the houses by the men. Back and forth from house to dump they went, seemingly too stiff from cold to move quickly. But Reis Bayyoumi was not satisfied. Reis Bayyoumi was the foreman who had greeted me at the courtyard gate. One of his duties was to keep the children on the move all day long, and he had two ways of doing this, sometimes used separately, sometimes together. The more effective one, perhaps, was a slender reed cane with plenty of spring in its make-up. When this was used as a clothes duster, its effects were truly marvelous. Bare feet that before could scarcely be lifted from the ground would then scarcely touch it. Mercury himself at the sight would have been a little envious. I myself occasionally found amusement in this clothes dusting when boys forgot themselves and stood motionless gazing at nothing or en-

grossed in conversation. To walk up behind and give them an unexpected tap was lots of fun not only for myself but for all the workers in the vicinity, and all around there would be grins and giggles. For the next few minutes the culprits were marvels of speed.

But to return to Reis Bayyoumi: His other stimulant was song, and he delighted in it. Taking his position near the line of march he would begin to sing, and all the children in the vicinity would join in, clapping their hands in time, and, of course, their steps coincided with the rhythm of the song. He had quite a repertoire; but unfortunately the Arabic of most of the songs was beyond me. But there was one in which the children found great delight. That song was "Ya lamouni." These words they repeated four times for a stanza, and they would sing them over and over again. They mean nothing but "O my lemon!" But they would invariably sweeten the sourest disposition.

This particular morning Reis Bayyoumi decided to use a combination of his methods. Soon there was a steady patter of bare feet, and the dirt rolled up in clouds from the dump heap. The work had been in progress only a short time when I was notified by one of the foremen that some wood had just been found in one of the companies. I hurried over to the house in which this company was working, and there in a bin in the corner of one of the rooms were several small, nicely turned wooden boxes and a covered basket that contained more. It was not yet bright enough for a picture, but I sent a boy for the camera in order to have everything ready. Before the photographing was finished, Terentieff, the head surveyor, who was to have the early morning the next day, came up to relieve me for breakfast. But the photographing had to be done first, and I was somewhat late. The day was starting auspiciously; I was feeling good. It looked as though the day would be far from monotonous. Luck, when it came, usually came in large quantities.

Shortly after I returned to the dig after breakfast, another workman came upon a fine bronze mirror case about six inches in diameter. It opened like a modern vanity case and was carried

by two handles. Any girl would have been proud to possess it. In this same room two wooden doors were being cleared. Since, however, only a very little of them was visible, we could not tell what they would be like. All but about six inches of these doors was in the space assigned to another company of workers. Thus a quarrel arose between the two companies as to what proportion of the bonus for finding the doors should be allowed for the six inches. Soon there was another summons to the house of the wooden boxes. Another basket with boxes inside had been found. Again some time was taken in photographing. Two of the boxes were not empty. One of them contained a number of bronze coins and an iron finger ring, the other, a small sheet of papyrus rolled up and tied with a string, which proved to be part of a letter of the late first century B.C., addressed to "Petesuchus, my brother."

Somewhat later another man uncovered a bin of pots. Part of it was in the shade, and a picture could not be taken at the time. I told the man that he should leave it as it was and that I would take a picture of it after lunch. So much other pottery had been found that this lot caused little excitement, though it did contain one example of a new type.

After lunch the children's attendance papers had to be signed first of all. As usual, they gathered about me in large groups to waste as much time as possible. After spending about half an hour at this task I went back to the bin of pots and had the camera brought. The picture was taken, and the workman began to hand the pots up to me. The first was a rather large one about three and a half feet tall. I turned it upside down and shook it, but only a little dirt came out. The next one, of the same type as the first, was handed up. I turned it upside down and shook it. A little dirt came out, then we heard a chug, and something stuck in the neck. I turned it up to see what was there. "Ya salam, el hamdalallah!" (Good gracious, praise God!) I cried. "El hamdalallah!" echoed the workman; for there in the neck of the pot was a roll of papyrus about three inches in diameter and about fourteen inches wide. I sent a boy for a box and put the roll in it. Later I unrolled it and found it to be grain accounts running through a period of

more than a year. The entire roll was more than fifteen feet in length. As I remember, seventy-five dollars was paid the company for this find.

By the time the work with the pottery was finished the two doors had been entirely excavated and had to be photographed. Clouds were coming up, and it looked as though there were going to be a storm. The doors had just been carried to the camp house when the storm broke with a terrible blast of wind. In an instant the air was full of dirt and sand, and work was impossible. I blew my whistle, and everyone scurried for home. The day had been short, but much had happened.

Shortly after tea it began to rain. That necessitated an inspection of all the rooms, to see if the roof were leaking in any place, and the covering of everything that might be damaged. Then some of the workers came saying that their houses were leaking and that they wished to get some tarpaulins out of the garage. Soon the cook came to me in a rage. Somebody had taken the canvas off the chicken coop to cover his own roof. The turkeys were getting soaked and in all probability they would take cold and die. I started on a hunt for the canvas and found it nicely placed over the roof of one of the houses. I went into the house and found several men and boys seated around a fire. I asked who had taken the canvas. They were very much surprised. They didn't know who had taken it, and how it ever could have got on the top of their roof they had not the slightest idea. I knew they had taken it and I did not blame them. I knew by experience what it was to have the rain pouring through the roof all over you and your room. I have slept with a slicker over my bed and placed pans about the room at strategic points. There was never more than one big rain during a season, but sometimes that was a soaker.

When all these matters had been attended to, it was time to get ready for dinner, which was served at eight. Again Muhammed appeared bringing hot water and waited for my shoes and leggings. It was at the height of the flea season, and at this time of the year I never took off my shoes and leggings without making

minute observations about the part of my anatomy just uncovered. These little pests took great delight in snuggling down into the thickness of a woolen sock. Muhammed was usually very grave during this procedure and would invariably make excuses for the presence of the little animals if any were found, and usually there were several. "I think there must be lots of them in the babour room [the room in which the electric light plant was situated], and they get on you there," he would say. He was afraid of being accused of negligence inasmuch as it was his duty to spray the room with Flit. Having seen me capture two of the enemy he departed and left me to my shave and bath. Throughout dinner we talked of the day's luck. It had been extraordinary. One door in extremely good condition, a good mirror case, a large roll of papyrus, a number of turned wooden boxes, an entirely new type of pot, not to mention the usual amount of small finds such as coins, beads, and small pieces of papyri.

Saturday of each week was pay day. The whistle blew fifteen minutes early, and Reis Bayyoumi marshaled his host at the north side of the hill. When they had assembled, company by company, and all were in line, he led them over the brow of the hill down to the house. As they came over the hill they began to sing, and it was a happy army that always came down to receive its weekly pay. A short distance from the pay table they sat down upon the ground and in groups of five or six marched past the table to receive their pay. If they had worked the entire week their twenty-one piastres (about \$1.05) were handed to each one sealed up in an envelope. If a child had not worked the entire week or had been fined (indicated by a hole torn in the paper) for laziness or some other offense the correct amount was handed him. Each week the director and I had to sit down on the tile floor of the office and sound every five- and ten-piastre piece to see that it was not counterfeit. Then, when money was given to a child, he was informed that all of it was good and could not be returned. Otherwise the children would have collected all the counterfeit money in the countryside and brought it to camp to exchange it, saying of course that they had received it in their envelopes. They

did try that very thing when the envelope system was first inaugurated.

But still that is not all of archaeology. The visit of the snake charmer is very much a part of it. His profession is a very important one in Egypt because of the countless snakes and scorpions in the country, and he is employed by many people to rid their houses of snakes. The first one that we had come to camp came shortly before noon one Sunday. Immediately after lunch he was summoned to the veranda where he was made to take off most of his clothes so that we might make sure that he had no snakes concealed about his person. He had none. First we went into the dining room. He gave a little whistle, breathed deeply, turning his head from side to side and finally said, "Ma feesh" (There aren't any). A small storeroom for food was next visited. "Ma feesh." Then another storeroom. He gave his little whistle and then suddenly ran to a box underneath one of the shelves and throwing it to one side he reached down and pulled out a long, wriggling snake. We began to take greater interest in the hunt then. Through other rooms of the house he went without further luck. Finally we arrived at the photographic darkroom. He went inside, whistled, smelled, then ran to a pile of tin boxes in which films had come. He scattered them in all directions and reaching down drew forth a cobra about five feet in length. *We* whistled then and hastily ran into the courtyard as he came toward us. Having taken the snake outside he proceeded to cut out its fangs with his pocketknife. Altogether that day he found six snakes, a second big cobra in the garage. I am not sure as to just how much he was paid for his work, but he charged so much a snake. However, as the University of Michigan was a new customer, he lowered his "per head" rate on the condition that a written recommendation be given him. And this was done. It was hard to tell whether everyone was more or less relieved after his visit. It was so easy to imagine that he had overlooked one in your own bedroom. We had not known before that snakes had been around. After his visit we were convinced that they did come into the house, though how they got there we did not know. The following

year we were more disturbed than ever because one was found crawling up a wall inside the house. How nice to have one drop from the ceiling into your bed when you are fast asleep! That very thing did happen to one of the workmen. He was asleep in his little house when something fell from above and struck him on the face. Awakened by the blow he thought that a rat had run across his face and gave the matter no further thought, going back to sleep immediately. The next day when cleaning up his house he lifted the pallet on which he had been sleeping, and there was a large viper, without doubt the "rat" of the night before.

Visits to the home of Sheik Yunis, the head man of a near-by village, also afforded occasional diversion. Sheik Yunis believed in giving such visitors as we were a royal welcome. The first time that we went to pay him a visit we drove into his courtyard and were just getting out of the car when we were startled by the firing of a two-gun salute in our honor; and the artillery, a double-barreled shotgun, was manipulated by a man not more than ten or fifteen feet away. Thereafter when we went to see him we were always prepared for the shots, which never failed to come. He was a fine man and always a very good friend to us all. One day while we were driving through his village a small boy threw a rock at the car and broke one of the windows. The culprit was immediately caught and put in Yunis' charge. Late that afternoon he came up to camp carrying a big horsewhip. He informed us that he had just come from the little boy's home where he had given the father a good beating for having such an ill-mannered son.

Many other incidents might be related that afforded amusement throughout each year, but enough has been told of the life in camp. However, one must not get the impression that all work for the day stopped when the whistle blew. Many times after dinner there were papyri to be dampened, money to be counted, maps to be drawn, finds to be checked, sick workers to be attended to. No end of work and lots of fun — that is archaeology.

THE SAMNITES IN THE PO VALLEY

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The importance of the Po Valley in the history of Rome during the last century of the Republic and the first century of the Empire makes it desirable to possess a careful study of the provenance and character of its inhabitants. The history of this district, however, like that of the rest of Italy other than Rome, has been dealt with only cavalierly by historians¹; such information as they present incidentally is often very confused. Moreover, the peculiar character of the literary sources has encouraged the formulation of a theory concerning the population of the Po Valley that a closer examination of all the evidence shows to be unwarranted.

It is known that the Etruscans were driven out of the plain of the Po by a people called Celts from over the Alps. Most modern writers on the subject have, therefore, taken for granted that these Celts continued to inhabit the region indefinitely and that their influence was extensive.² One of the best illustrations of this assumption is the theory of the Celtic origin of the genius of Vergil.³ Recently, however, this traditional view has been

¹ Cf. D. Randall-MacIver, *Italy Before the Romans*: Oxford, Clarendon Press (1928), 9: "Historians have deliberately kept silence as to all Italian peoples except the Romans. But it is obvious that the view which they give is incomplete."

² Cf. F. W. Shipley, *Race Mixture and Literary Genius in the Roman Provinces*: Univ. of Washington Studies IX (1909), 103. "As the dominant race they [the Celts] had imposed their language and institutions on most of the Po Valley"; and J. W. Mackail, *Latin Literature*: London, John Murray (1924), 46: "But the population [of the Po Valley] was still, by blood and sympathy, largely Celtic." (70 B.C.)

³ Cf. F. W. Shipley, *op. cit.* 106; R. S. Conway, *Cambridge Ancient History* IV, 442.

challenged by Professor Frank.⁴ It is the purpose of this study to show that the Po Valley was settled not by Celts but very largely by the Samnite race from the south of Italy.

Literary sources have been examined for what they contain concerning the Samnites and the Celts. But the main proof of the Samnite migration must be sought for in the inscriptions. The Oscan Inscriptions and the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* have both been included in the study.

The part of Italy known as Samnium may be defined as the territory bounded on the north by the Marsi and Paeligni, on the east by the Adriatic and Apulia, on the south by Lucania, and on the west by Campania and Latium. There is comparative certainty concerning these as the original boundaries on the west, south, and east, but the sources are by no means agreed as to the northern frontier. The Samnites were not content for long to confine themselves to this territory but began to push into neighboring lands. Apulia, Bruttium, and Lucania were overrun, nor did Campania escape their inroads. Capua was captured by them in 438 or 423, and Cumae in 420, when Etruscan power south of the Tiber came to an end and Samnite influence spread over the whole of Campania. Regarding the Samnite advances to the north and the tribes situated north of Samnium proper, the accounts are not satisfactory. Schulten⁵ has shown that the people of the Abruzzi belong to a different stem from the Samnites, so that for the present study the northern boundary of the Samnites must be fixed south of them.

With the waning of Etruscan power, Italian history becomes a duel for supremacy between the Samnites and the Latin-Roman league. Though Rome was to emerge mistress, the result was by no means a foregone conclusion. "In fact when one compares the achievements of the two great nations of Italy, the Latins and the Samnites, before they came into contact, the

⁴ In *C.A.H.* VIII, 327; and Leonora R. Furr, "The Nationality of Vergil," *CLASSICAL JOURNAL* XXV (1930), 340-46.

⁵ Cf. A. Schulten, "Italische Namen und Stämme," *Klio* II (1902), 167-93 and 440-65, and III (1903), 235-67.

career of conquest on the part of the latter appears far wider and more splendid than the former.”⁶

Early communications between the two powers seem to have been of a peaceful and commercial nature, but from the capture of Sora by the Romans in 345 B.C. there was continual hostility between them. The Roman advance to the south may be summarily traced by the dates of the founding of their colonies: Cales, 334; Fregellae 327; Luceria, 314; Saticula, 313; Suessa, Aurunca, Interamna Lirenas, 312; Carsioli, 301; Venusia, 291; Beneventum, 268; Aesernia, 263. These dates mark the beginning of the gradual penetration of Samnium by the Romans.

Though worsted after years of fighting, the Samnites were not essentially an inferior race. They were “a peasant people over whom the Romans had the sole advantage of a strong central organization.”⁷ The mountainous character of their country prevented them from forming a compact state comparable to that of Rome. Nevertheless aptitude for organization was not lacking. Traces of this may be seen in the institution of the *meddix tuticus*⁸ and the *ζοινὸν τῶν Σαυνιτῶν*.⁹ Their strength and their power of resistance may be judged by the fact that of sixteen colonies sent out by Rome between 296 and 241 B.C. only two were in Samnium proper — Beneventum (268) and Aesernia (263) — and also from their ability almost to exhaust the Romans at the Colline Gate as late as 83 B.C.

In certain respects the Romans could even be their pupils. From the Samnites, whose impressive appearance in battle they admired, the Romans borrowed ideas in armor and weapons. The gladiatorial outfits, the *scutum* and *aclys*, and linen tunics came from this source.¹⁰ The cultural promise of the Samnites appeared the greater. Recent excavations¹¹ have shown that they

⁶ Cf. Mommsen, *History of Rome* (Everyman's Library edition), I, 351.

⁷ Cf. Pauly-Wissowa, *s.v.* “Samnites.”

⁸ Cf. Livy IX, 1, 2.

⁹ Cf. Appian, *B. C.* I, 51.

¹⁰ Cf. Livy IX, 40, 2 f.; Florus I, 11, 7; frg. Vaticanum quoted in *Hermes* xxvii (1892), 118-30.

¹¹ Cf. *Notizie degli Scavi* vi (1928), 229; August Mau, *Pompeii, Its Life*

were not lacking in artistic ability, while it was the Samnites rather than the Romans who showed the first signs of literary capacity. The *Fabulae Atellanae*,¹² which grew up around the Campanian town of Atella, contained a germ which might have produced a native Italian drama.

It is true that Oscan literature came to an early end, but it does not follow that the Samnite genius died any more than the failure of Gaelic literature in Scotland proves a lack of literary ability among the Scots. The Oscan language, like the Gaelic, showed remarkable tenacity; it was used along with Latin in the *Tabula Bantina* (133-118 B.C.), it is found in *graffiti* at Pompeii, and traces of it are said to exist today in the speech of certain southern Italians. But with the growth of Roman power and influence in Italy it was inevitable that Latin should gradually supplant Oscan. Samnite officials adopted Roman magisterial titles, and Samnite personal names came to conform largely to the Roman pattern, although *praenomina* and *nomina*, contrary to the Roman rule, continued to be interchangeable.

In their daily life the Samnites were essentially a rural people. Originally they were probably colonists of the Sabines who migrated from the north in a *ver sacrum*.¹³ Most of the territory occupied by them was mountainous; consequently they lived in isolated villages, cultivated the suitable lands, and used the remainder for sheep-raising. The Samnites who migrated to Campania became divided into two classes: the agricultural, who remained on the rich farming land of the country; and the commercial, who were attracted to the Greek coastal towns. Among the latter a new commercial class grew up, engaged in the trade of the urban centers, whose divergent interests tended to separate them from the peasant population.

The accounts of the Roman historians, never very full or satis-

and Art, Translated by Francis W. Kelsey: New York, Macmillan Co. (1907), 41; Eugénie Strong, "The Art of the Roman Republic," *C.A.H.* ix, 822-24.

¹² Cf. Livy vii, 2, 12; Mommsen apud *C. I. L.* x, p. 124; J. Wight Duff, *A Literary History of Rome from the Origins to the Close of the Golden Age*: London, J. Fisher Unwin (1910), 20-23.

¹³ Cf. Varro, *R. R.* iii, 29; Appian, *Samn.* 4; Paulus Festus 379.

factory, leave the impression that after the Hannibalic War this hardy Samnite race gradually faded into nothingness. Study of available evidence, however, reveals a widespread emigration of Samnites from Southern Italy to lands of greater opportunity.

Causes of dissatisfaction among the Samnite farmers are not far to seek. The Hannibalic War played havoc with agriculture, particularly in Samnite territories. On Hannibal's departure in 202, vast areas previously inhabited by a thriving peasant population were lying devastated and idle, and became state property. The subsequent growth of *latifundia* is too well known to require illustration. The result was a gradual and permanent revolution in living conditions on the farms. "The rich getting possession of the greater part of the undistributed lands, and, being emboldened by the lapse of time to believe that they would never be dispossessed, absorbing any adjacent strips and their poor neighbors' allotments, partly by purchase under persuasion and partly by force, came to cultivate vast tracts instead of single estates, using slaves as laborers and herdsmen."¹⁴ Wherever these *latifundia* were established the small estate disappeared, "slaves multiplied, and the Italian peoples dwindled in number and strength."

The Gracchan land legislation aimed at checking the evils of the *latifundia* system, but the result in the case of the non-Latin Samnites seems to have been an aggravation of grievances. The following facts throw important light on how the law was applied. Wherever the Gracchan commissioners assigned lands they set up boundary stones. Several of these have been discovered; one in Umbria near Pisaurum, three in Campania — one near Capua and two in the South — two in Lucania at Atina and Tegianum, and two in the territory of the Hirpini.¹⁵ This list of places where Gracchan assignments of land were made may be supplemented by information on the subject contained in the *Libri Regionum*.¹⁶ Though a compilation of the Imperial period,

¹⁴ Cf. Appian, *B. C.* I, 7.

¹⁵ The references to these stones are to be found in *C. I. L.* I², 719, 640, 641 f., and 639; X, 289; and I², 643 f.

¹⁶ Edited by E. Pais, *Storia della Colonizzazione di Roma Antica*: Roma, Attilio Nardeccchia, Editore (1923), I.

this document contains valuable source material derived from the official records of the *agrimensores*, which were deposited in the imperial archives and which went back as far as the Gracchan period. An examination of this document makes it clear that it is in agreement with the evidence of the Gracchan boundary stones in placing the land assignations of the Gracchi, with one or two exceptions, in the Abruzzi and Southern Italy. They also agree that the type of land divided was that suitable for agriculture and grazing.

Appian (*B. C.* 1, 39) mentions the peoples who revolted against Rome in the Social War. These are the people whose districts are mentioned in the *Libri Regionum* as the scene of the land division following 133 B.C. This suggests a connection between the Gracchan assignations and the Social War. A plausible theory would be this, that the Gracchan commissioners chose for distribution, in addition to those parts of the *ager publicus* which had been settled by capitalistic landowners after the Hannibalic War, certain lands which the Italians still happened to possess in the districts mentioned by Appian as the scenes of the insurrection; that the Italians, seeing that the Latins had been practically untouched during the land division, concluded that it was the latter's superior position in regard to Rome that had saved them; and therefore they believed that Roman citizenship was a necessary safeguard for their rights and were prepared to fight for it rather than remain in danger of the dispossession which had been the lot of many of their people after 133 B.C.

The conditions thus briefly described made the position of the peasant farmer in Southern Italy exceedingly difficult. Not only did the competition of slave-worked *latifundia* make farming unprofitable, but the very tenure of their lands appeared precarious. In such circumstances, if news arrived of a new land of agricultural promise, resourceful farmers would be strongly tempted to emigrate.

Such a land was to be found in the Po Valley. Upon the downfall of the Etruscan power, this fertile region had been occupied by the Celts in a succession of tribal invasions which cannot have

begun much before 450 B.C. For political and economic reasons the Romans soon resolved that these Celts should be dislodged, and a succession of wars was the result. The Roman resolution did not waver. In 232, according to Polybius II, 21, 9, "the Romans no longer made war on them for the sake of supremacy and sovereignty, but with a view to their total expulsion and extermination." In 224 the defeat of the Celts in Etruria "encouraged the Romans to hope that they would be able entirely to expel the Celts from the plain of the Po."¹⁷

That the Romans, as was their wont, carried this resolution to a successful issue there is every reason to suppose. They were dealing with a tribal people lacking unity,¹⁸ whose man power was far from being unlimited. To continue the fight with Rome the Celts had continually to summon mercenaries from over the Alps. The single defeat of Lake Vadimon made it necessary for them to arm their young men, even mere striplings. How heavy were the casualties inflicted by the Romans may be judged by the fact that Polybius' accounts of Roman victories usually end with the statement that the whole army of the Gauls was either killed or captured.

That any large remnant of the Celts remained in the Po Valley after the completion of the Roman conquest is improbable. We are expressly told that two of the strongest tribes, the Boii and the Senones, were driven out of Italy.¹⁹ For other individual tribes there is no such specific statement; but since their history in Italy stops abruptly with their final defeat by the Romans, a similar fate in their case may be inferred.²⁰ Any uncertainty, however, would seem unnecessary in view of the plain statement of Polybius (150 B.C.), a responsible eyewitness (II, 35, 4):

As I have witnessed them [the Celts] not long afterwards, entirely expelled from the plain of the Po except a few communities close under the Alps, I did not think it right to make no mention either of their

¹⁷ Cf. Polybius II, 31, 8.

¹⁸ Cf. *ibid.* II, 17, 10; Strabo IV, 196 f., etc.

¹⁹ Cf. Strabo V, 213, 216; Polybius II, 19, 11 f.

²⁰ Probably, however, some of the less important tribes are included in the names of the more important, as, e.g., the Lingones with the Boii.

original invasion or of their subsequent conduct or of their final expulsion.

In view of such a definite statement the burden of proof must lie with the opponents.

It is quite evident that during the second century B.C. the Romans were faced with the problem of vacant lands in the plain of the Po and their disposal. This can only be accounted for on the supposition that the region had been depopulated of Celts. The division of land, which began in 232 with the *ager Gallicus* and continued till 218 in the Placentia-Cremona district, was resumed after the Hannibalic War and the completion of the expulsion of the Celts. Colonies were sent to Bononia, Mutina, Parma, Aquileia, Luna. A network of roads was built, opening up the country for farming and trade.²¹ In the ordinary course of events it is probable that the district would have been settled by Roman colonists. But the war with Hannibal changed the character of the occupation. The male population of Rome had greatly declined in this war, and upon its conclusion Rome's attention was occupied for the greater part of a century with affairs in the East. Evidence that large tracts of land were still available in 172, and that the Romans realized their own inability to colonize the district, is seen in the granting of permission, after ten years' refusal, to several thousands of Ligurians to settle there. To each of the five colonies established after the Hannibalic War the quota was only one-half that of the earlier colonies of Placentia and Cremona, while in the case of Bononia 17,080 acres, out of the 64,000 which had been set aside for the colony, proved sufficient for the available colonists.²² The supply of colonists from official Roman sources was apparently none too abundant. Nevertheless the flourishing condition of the Po Valley at the end of the Republic shows that settlers of a worthy type were not lacking. Some further source of supply is, therefore, to be sought.

In order to discover whether any considerable shift of population from the Samnite districts of Southern Italy to the Po Valley

²¹ It was along these roads that the unofficial *fora* and *conciliabula* sprang up.

²² Cf. J. Beloch, *Der Italische Bund unter Roms Hegemonie*: Leipzig, Teubner (1880), 147 f.

took place, an examination of the inscriptions of the two districts was made. The following criteria for the Samnite origin of *gentes* were adopted: (1) the occurrence of a name, either as a *praenomen* or as a *nomen*, in documents written in the Oscan language; (2) the occurrence in Latin literature (a) of names coupled with Samnite titles of office, (b) of names of Samnite officials without their titles mentioned; (3) the frequent association of the name of a *gens* with *gentes* known to be Samnite. Seventy-six names were found to conform to these criteria. Some of these names are found also in Rome early in its history, but in most cases the non-Latin origin of the *gens* can be shown, so that the occurrence of such names in Rome need not invalidate their Samnite origin.

An examination of the inscriptions for the Samnite districts defined above, as contained in Volumes IX and X of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, showed that the ratio of names assumed to be Samnite, to the total number of inscriptions of the districts, was 1 to 4.41. This comparatively low ratio would not obtain if the population of Samnium had remained undisturbed and calls for explanation. Emigration of Samnites from their territory may be advanced as one reason contributing to the low figure. A similar examination of the inscriptions of the Po Valley (*Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, Vols. V and XI) showed a ratio of 1 to 5.87. It will be seen that there is almost as large a percentage of Samnite names in the inscriptions of the Po Valley as in the territory in Southern Italy known to be Samnite. Epigraphical evidence, therefore, would point to the conclusion that a large number of Samnites migrated from their home in the south to the Valley of the Po.

These epigraphical statistics, illuminated by the evidence from other sources, reveal an important movement of population in Italy. Conditions in the south had become almost intolerable, but the Samnites had never been a race given to acquiescence. The commercial portion of the Campanian Samnites, rather than submit to the difficult restrictions imposed by Rome, sought a new business center in the free port of Delos and migrated there

with their families in the second century B.C. This is proved by epigraphical evidence.²³ The present study has shown that many of their former kinsmen with the same courageous self-reliance left their southern home and migrated to the fertile valley of the Po, where vacant lands were to be found in a territory free from war and civil strife.

Such a movement of people is by no means unique in history. The migration under similar conditions of some 30,000 Highlanders from Scotland across the Atlantic after 1745²⁴ and that of Chinese farmers from the Yangtze Valley today²⁵ form modern parallels. Such movements are gradual. No precise date, therefore, may be set for the Samnite migration to the Po. The migration to Delos began after the Hannibalic War and increased greatly in momentum in the last quarter of the second century. That to the Po seems to have followed similar lines. It cannot have begun prior to the Hannibalic War. The subsequent period of transition and the period between Gracchan legislation and the Social War may be suggested as the years when the migration would be most popular. The Samnites, no doubt, thought it fortunate that at that very time the Po Valley was offering a home to immigrants. But Rome herself was ultimately to reap the benefit; for the valley of the Po proved to be a reservoir of Italian manhood at one of the most critical times of her history.

²³ Cf. J. Hatzfeld, "Les Italiens Resident à Délos," *Bull. de Corr. Hellénique* xxxvi (1912), 5-218; and *Bibliothèque des Écoles Françaises d'Athènes et de Rome* cxv.

²⁴ Cf. G. M. Trevelyan, *History of England*: London, Longmans, Greene and Co. (1926-27), 538.

²⁵ Cf. Nora Waln, "Letters from the Manchurian Border," *Atlantic Monthly* cl. (1932), 393 f.

Notes

[All contributions in the form of notes for this department should be sent directly to Roy C. Flickinger, State University of Iowa, Iowa City, Ia.]

SWIMMING AMONG THE GREEKS AND BARBARIANS

A knowledge of swimming seems to have been expected of most Greeks. Plato cites the failure to know "either letters or swimming" (μήτε γράμματα μήτε νεῖν ἐπίστασθαι) ¹ as the current proverb of ignorance, and the obvious meaning of the words is carefully explained elsewhere ² as referring to the cultivation of letters and swimming, which the Greeks pursued from infancy. The great skill of the Greeks in swimming and diving happens to have found a record in connection with several of the more important events of Greek history.³ Herodotus (viii, viii, 1-3) tells with due incredulity the story of Scyllias, the native of Scione, who plunged into the sea at Aphetae and came to the surface at Artemisium some eighty stades distant. Less incredible, though scarcely less remarkable, are two undoubtedly historical cases of swimming and diving employed in military operations. The first occurred when the Spartan hoplites were besieged by the Athenians on the island of Sphacteria in 425 B.C. Their comrades offered high rewards, even freedom in the case of the Helots, to volunteers who would take over to the island ground corn, wine, cheese, or other concentrated foods. One of the methods by which the

¹ *Laws* 689 n, translated in a somewhat different context by Suetonius, *Aug.* lxiv. Cf. also H. A. Sanders, "Swimming among the Greeks and Romans," *CLASSICAL JOURNAL* xx (1925), 566-68.

² Cf. *Paroemiographi Graeci*, ed. Leutsch et Schneidewin: Göttingen (1839), I, 278; II, 39.

³ E. Mehl has made a number of studies, chiefly of the style and technique of ancient swimming, the substance of which is brought together in his article, "Schwimmen," in Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, *Real-Encyclopädie*, Supplementband V (1931), 847-64. He cites the more important ancient references, of which the number is not great.

Athenian watches were for a time eluded was the device of divers who swam across to the island under water dragging after them by a string poppy seed mixed with honey and pounded linseed enclosed in skins.⁴ Another striking incident occurred during the Sicilian Expedition, when the Syracusans drove piles into the sea in front of their old dockyards so that their own ships might ride in safety behind them and the Athenians be prevented from breaking through. Some of these piles the Athenians succeeded in pulling out by means of mechanical contrivances on a ship of some two hundred and fifty tons burden working in conjunction with smaller boats, while others they removed by diving and sawing them off. This task was an exceedingly difficult one, as anyone can testify who has attempted to saw through a wet log under the most favorable conditions; and this was apparently the work of the regular citizen-soldiers or amateur divers, for we are told that the more difficult feat of removing the completely submerged piles was accomplished by divers who went down and sawed them off for pay. The point need not be labored. Such skill in the water would be so generally found only among a people who were regularly taught as children to swim.⁵

On the other hand the almost universal knowledge of swimming among the Greeks is paralleled only by the rarity of the accomplishment among the barbarians. Two or three of the more important references to their deficiency may be recalled. When the Persian fleet was wrecked off Mount Athos many soldiers lost their lives because they could not swim, and again at Salamis great numbers of the Persians perished in the sea for the same reason, whereas the Greeks who were not killed outright in the wreckage of their ships were able to swim over to Salamis to safety (Herod. vi, xliv, 3 and viii, lxxxix, 1 f.). During the Peloponnesian War, when the Thracians under Diitrephe had slaughtered the people of Mycalessus, they were in turn overcome by the Thebans and driven to the Euripus, where most of them

⁴ Thuc. iv, xxvi, 8. For the next incident, cf. *ibid.* vii, xxv, 5-7.

⁵ According to Plutarch (*Alex.* lviii) Alexander the Great was unable to swim; but this is the only distinctive instance of such inability on the part of a Greek that is reported, and Alexander was a Macedonian Greek.

were killed because they were unable to swim and the crews of their waiting ships had shifted anchorage to be beyond bowshot (Thuc. vii, xxx, 1 f.). Since Thucydides expressly says that the Thracian race in its bloodthirstiness is most like the barbarian it is not unreasonable to include them with the barbarians as a class to whom swimming did not come naturally.

In spite of the fact that there were undoubtedly many exceptions on both sides,⁶ the weight of evidence indicates very clearly that a knowledge of swimming was a usual accomplishment among the Greeks and that it was distinctly uncommon among the barbarians. One wonders why this should be, for the geographic and climatic conditions of the two peoples do not differ sufficiently to account for it. Nor are the other known reasons for such ignorance among large groups (as, for instance, the considered refusal of certain northern fishermen to learn to swim, in order that in case of misfortune hopeless agony may not be prolonged, or the lack of opportunity among inland people without access to lakes or rivers of any considerable size) applicable to the barbarians. Another and not unreasonable explanation might be found in the barbarian attitude toward nudity, which is clear from numerous references. Herodotus (i, x, 3), for example, in telling the story of Candaules' exposure of his wife before Gyges, observes that among the Lydians, as well as among other barbarians, even for a man to be seen nude was a matter of deep disgrace. Thucydides (i, vi, 5) says that the Greeks had only in recent times adopted the custom of practicing athletics nude, and even in his time the barbarians, especially in Asia, wore loin-cloths in wrestling and boxing. Plato (*Republic* 452 c), too, observes that the Greeks a short time before believed, as most of the barbarians then did, that it was ridiculous and improper for a man to be seen nude. The tactless act of Agesilaus (Plutarch, *Ages.* ix) in causing the Asiatic prisoners to be stripped at

⁶ For instance, on the Euphrates and Tigris inflated skins were used as an aid in crossing the river, though this is not a case of outright swimming (Xen., *An.* iii, v, 9; Ammian. Marc. xxx, i, 9). For some archaeological representations of swimming in Egyptian, Assyrian, and Etruscan art, cf. Mehl, *op. cit.*, p. 849, B (a), s.v. "Ausserklassische Völker."

Ephesus so that their white, soft bodies might be shown as an object lesson to the Greeks affords evidence of the same thing. The explanation is a simple one; but if that attitude toward nudity was inculcated in the minds of Persian boys from infancy, it is sufficient to explain why they should never have learned to swim.

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WODEHOUSE AND LATIN COMEDY

That eminent master of Anglo-American humorous fiction, Mr. Pelham Grenville Wodehouse, would doubtless be greatly surprised if he were told that there are to be seen in his works certain resemblances to the plays of Plautus and Terence. Whether Mr. Wodehouse has ever read any of the extant plays is not known to me — he tells us in *Who's Who* that he got his education at Dulwich College, and we learn from another source¹ that he did not study at Oxford before beginning a short career of finance in the "City." Whether he has read any of them does not really matter, for the resemblances are interesting enough to warrant attention in any case, even though they are, as seems likely, purely accidental.²

The most striking similarity is to be found in the use of stock characters, Mr. Wodehouse differing from his forerunners in that he repeatedly uses the same character in story after story. The *adulescens* of comedy is nicely parallel to Wodehouse's typical young man, Bertram, or rather "Bertie," Wooster. A graduate of a famous English public school and of Oxford (doubtless with only a "pass degree"), wealthy, pleasure-loving, well-meaning, but not especially intelligent, Bertie's stupidity is constantly getting

¹ *Time* xxii (August 7, 1933), 47.

² One would not need a classical education to introduce the following mythological touch into a novel: "I remember when I was a kid at school having to learn a poem of sorts about a fellow named Pig-something — a sculptor he would have been, no doubt — who made a statue of a girl, and what should happen one morning but that the bally thing suddenly came to life." [*The Saturday Evening Post* (December 30, 1933), 60.]

him into scrapes from which he extricates himself with difficulty, and then only with the help of his brilliant valet, Jeeves, whose ingenuity solves his master's every problem by the psychological method. Jeeves is the *servus* of Latin comedy, with the necessary changes. His great perspicacity has become well known to all Wooster's friends, and they consult him on many of their own difficulties and without first asking permission from Bertie. Jeeves's devices sometimes include sending his young master on fruitless bicycle rides at the dead of night, simply because his absence is for the moment desirable. Jeeves is Wodehouse's finest character.

The *senex* of Latin comedy is missing from the Wodehouse scene, perhaps as all Wodehouse's young men seem to be orphans; but some of the characteristics of this type are taken over by the testy aunt, of whom Bertie's Aunt Agatha, and at times his Aunt Dahlia, are good examples. The *adulescens* always has his friends who resemble him closely except that they are generally a shade more intelligent. Wooster's friends have the amusing names of Bingo Little, Tuppy (the Christian name is Hildebrand) Glossop, and Augustus Fink-Nottle, the authority on newts, this last being Wodehouse's portrait of the comic English country gentleman who dabbles in science. All of these characters fit fairly well the main outlines of the character of Callidamates in the *Mostellaria*, though Fink-Nottle is not, except for one great moment, given to the use of the bottle. Wooster's friends, unlike himself, for he is a woman-hater for the most part, are constantly falling in love with the typical Wodehouse young lady. This character is analogous to the *meretrix* of comedy, though her social standing and morals are never called into the slightest question; and it may be pointed out that the comic *meretrix* usually proves herself free-born and a citizen, thus establishing for herself a place in good society. At times the young lady is by no means attractive, as in the case of Fink-Nottle's beloved, "the Bassett," who is too sentimental for Wooster's taste, or Mrs. Bingo Little's school chum, "the Pike," who is a crank on "scientific" eating. The parasite appears in Wodehouse stories as the guest at an English country

house but he is rarely criticized for being a parasite, providing his manners make him socially eligible. One misses the *miles gloriosus* but is consoled by Wodehouse's special creation, "the amiable and bone-headed peer," the best example of which is Lord Emsworth, owner of Blandings Castle, whose chief interests in life are his garden and his prize sow, "Empress of Blandings."

If readers of the comedies of Plautus and Terence have at times complained of their general monotony, yet the dramatists may be admitted to have established (or adopted) a definite genre for their works without at the same time losing any interest or power of diversion; and the same is true of Wodehouse's plots, which also exhibit a curious sameness. The reader loses no interest in the plot because his knowledge of Wodehouse's previous performances enables him to forecast the present dénouement. Originality of plot was not required on the ancient stage, nor is it of Wodehouse. He never uses a recognition scene, but then modern society and law neither require nor permit such a device. The ghost of the *Mostellaria* is loosely parallel to the numerous practical jokes used by Jeeves to achieve the psychological solution of an intolerable situation. The confusion of personality which creates the suspense and the humor of the *Menaechmi* is similar to the long series of misunderstandings of the true motives of the hero of Wodehouse's latest story about Jeeves. The humorist, like the Roman dramatists, invariably follows the supposedly modern American dramatic principle of the happy ending. From the names that have been mentioned above the reader will see that Wodehouse makes his characters' names contribute to the humor of the story; but the finest name in all his works is one not yet mentioned, Stanley Featherstonehaugh Ukridge.

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THE PRESIDENT USES A RARE LATIN DERIVATIVE

President Roosevelt, whose diction was praised at the eighteenth annual convention of the National Association of Teachers of Speech, which met in New York on December 28, on the

same day used two derivatives from the same Latin root in a most effective way in his address from Washington over a nation-wide radio hook-up on the occasion of the seventy-seventh anniversary of the birth of Woodrow Wilson:

... the time has come to *supplement* and to *implement* the declaration of President Wilson by the further declaration that the definite policy of the United States from now on is one opposed to armed intervention.

The verb *supplement* is, of course, in common use; but the verb *implement*, according to the *Oxford Dictionary* and also to *Webster's New International Dictionary*, in the meaning *to fulfill* (which is evidently the President's meaning here) belongs almost altogether to the Scotch dialect. What is of interest here is the fact that this modern master of statesmanship and diction must have a well defined "feel" for his Latin derivatives to have used the derivatives from both *sup-plementum* and *im-plementum* in such a facile and euphonious way to bring out his exact meaning in a most forceful and direct manner.

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ROMAN OPPOSITION TO SCIENTIFIC PROGRESS

The distinguished scientists, Millikan and Compton, recently urged that "instead of discouraging further research or attempting to stifle technical progress, modern civilization should seek further improvements in manufacturing processes," while the latter is reported as stating that "the idea that science takes away jobs or is the root of the economic and social ills is based on ignorance and misconception. It is vicious in its possible social consequences and yet it has taken an insidious hold on the minds of many people."¹

Some Roman emperors seem to have been opposed to scientific progress. Vespasian feared that it would take away jobs, for when a mechanical engineer volunteered to move some huge columns to the Capitol in Rome at very slight expense, the emperor gave him a reward for his contrivance but declined to

¹ Cf. *New York Herald* (European Edition), Feb. 24, 1934.

employ it on the ground that the engineer "should allow him to feed his poor common folk."²

Hostility to progress is likewise attributed to Tiberius: A talented architect discovered a method of producing malleable glass. He then demonstrated the qualities of his product before the emperor, who upon inquiry ascertained that the process was known only to its inventor. Thereupon the unfortunate architect was put to death and his workshop destroyed, "lest the price of metals, bronze, silver, and gold, should fall."³ Should this story happen to be untrue, at least its originator was obsessed by the "idea" condemned by Dr. Compton.

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² Cf. Suetonius, *Vespasian* xviii: *Praefatus sineret se plebisculam pascere.*

³ Cf. Pliny, *N. H.* xxxvi, xxvi, 66; also Dio lvii, xxi, 6 and Petronius, *Sat.* 51 (in Petronius the reason for the execution of the inventor is thus explained: *Quia enim, si scitum esset* [i.e., the process], *aurum pro luto haberemus*).

Book Reviews

[Review copies of classical books should be sent to the Editorial Office of the JOURNAL at Columbia, Mo. Such works will always be listed in the department of Recent Books, and those which seem most important to the readers of the JOURNAL will also be reviewed in this department. The editor-in-chief reserves the right of appointing reviewers.]

WILLIAM O. WEHRLE, *The Macaronic Hymn Tradition in Medieval English Literature*. Doctoral Dissertation: Washington, D.C., Catholic University of America (1933). Pp. xxxvii + 186.

Mr. Wehrle's book is a doctoral dissertation. Including the Anglo-Saxon and Middle English periods, the author attempts to give an account of "the religious lyrical poems which are interlarded with Latin phrases and therefore included under the general designation of macaronics" and "to show that the Latin interlacings in these poems are for the most part borrowings from the hymns or liturgical prayers of the Church." The investigation extends from the Anglo-Saxon *Phoenix* and *Oratio Poetica* (Grein-Wülker II, 227) to the end of the fifteenth century, including Lydgate and also James Ryman, who lived during the second half of the fifteenth century.

This dissertation is a good beginning of an investigation that has long been needed. The author performed very creditably the somewhat limited task he assumed. He has read and classified a large number — some two hundred, he says — of bilingual lyrics and has clearly shown that the Latin elements are for the most part borrowings from the hymns or liturgical prayers of the Church.

Perhaps the term "macaronic" should not have been used in the title, because, as the author shows in his Introduction, the word did not come into use until the end of the fifteenth century and also because, when it did come into use, it designated verse in

which "the basic language must be Latin, and the vernacular, if introduced, must take the Latin inflections," and in which "the sentiments must be gross, vulgar, and even obscene." This, of course, is verse of a kind very different from the kind studied in the dissertation.

In the chapter on the Anglo-Saxon poems the author points out the skilful combination of the Latin half lines with the vernacular in the *Phoenix* and the *Oratio Poetica*.

In the four chapters on the Middle English period the so-called "macaronic" lyrics are divided into thirteen types: the Macaronic Cauda, the Balanced Vernacular-Macaronic Line; the Macaronic Refrain, etc.

The facts assembled in this dissertation remind us again of the immense debt that the English lyric, modern as well as mediaeval and secular as well as religious, owes to the Latin hymns in metrical and stanzaic structure.

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ARTHUR KENYON ROGERS, *The Socratic Problem*: New Haven, Yale University Press (1933). Pp. iv + 200. \$2.

Probably the fairest test that can be applied to any book about Socrates or Plato is the question whether it brings the reader back to the dialogs with a keener interest and a stronger desire to understand thoroughly what Plato said. Judged by this standard Rogers' book, *The Socratic Problem*, is important even for those who may not accept all of its conclusions.

The first chapter presents passages from the *Euthydemus*, *Charmides*, and *Phaedo*, in which Socrates successively appears as a moralist, a scientific philosopher and logician, and a mystic. The question is then raised whether these three individualities can be housed in one personality. Rogers partially answers the question by affirming that Plato's reverence for his master and his respect for the knowledge which contemporary society had concerning Socrates would prevent him from attributing to that philosopher characteristics that he did not possess and from as-

signing to him doctrines that had not been presented at least in embryonic form in his teachings. This, of course, leaves the exceedingly difficult task of determining how far each philosophic germ had grown before the imagination and intelligence of Plato began to water and fertilize it. (In a later chapter it is suggested that not even Aristotle had a "clear understanding of what the Socratic residuum of the dialogues was.")

The second chapter attempts the difficult task of trying to determine the chronological order of the dialogs of Plato. Then follow three chapters on Socrates the Moralist, Socrates the Scientist, and Socrates the Mystic. All the way along the reader is being gradually prepared for Rogers' conclusion that Socrates was primarily a person of mystical insight rather than one of rational temper. Aristotle's dictum that Socrates' main contribution to philosophy was an insistence on the definition of terms and the introduction of inductive reasoning is thrown into the discard. The sixth chapter should be read by all who wish to know why Xenophon's portrait of Socrates in the *Memorabilia* cannot be accepted as authentic.

The book contains three appendices dealing with the Second Letter of Plato, the Hippias dialogs, and the Phaedrus myth.

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AURELIO ESPINOSA POLIT, *Virgilio el Poeta y su Misión Provi-
dencial*: Quito, Ecuador, Editorial Ecuatoriana (1932). Pp.
x + 547. \$1.50.

There is little here about technical details of craftsmanship, merely five hundred pages of learned enthusiasm for the whole body of Vergil and reverent devotion to the culminating passages of the *Aeneid* which to many seem to reconcile Christian with pagan.

Padre Espinosa divides his book in half, as on the title page, giving equal shares to the poet and the prophet. However the reader may differ with him here, he will, if an ardent Vergilian,

be delighted with the scholarly zeal of one whose intimacy with the *opera omnia* grew up in far Ecuador.

Says Father Espinosa,

Scholars of every sort have searched out Vergil's sources, . . . followed his growth, pondered his doctrines; and the outcome of it all has been: "A thing of beauty is a joy forever." But . . . the esthetic is not the supreme order. Fully to appreciate Vergil we must take another step to a more august height where we may see him within the splendor divine.

The perfect integration of Vergil's life, concentrated by a special providence upon his art, is the first of three facts that reveal God's design. The next is Vergil's preoccupation with something above every phase of paganism, to which he rises solitary, as if the son of another age. The third is Vergil's survival in the midst of Christendom, invoked by the early Apologists, welcomed by the Fathers and Doctors and by the great Bishop of Hippo, saluted as the "Prophet of Christ"; Dante, Christian poet par excellence, was his disciple; and the schools perpetuate the study of Vergil with the approval and blessing of the Church.

St. Thomas said that fully to value its redemption the world first needed to realize the whole weight of its misery; and the dolorous miserere sung by Vergil prepared the soul serenely to receive the peace of God. This was the poet's mission, the purpose of his beauty; and if any find this exaggerated, we confess we cannot otherwise explain an influence so constant through two millennia not only in the world of letters but also in the world of souls.

. . . St. Augustine, writing to his friend Marcian, exhorts him to delay no longer his baptism: "For there is none but Christ to whom mankind could say, 'Under Thy commandment, if any trace of our sin remain, it will be of none effect, and the earth will be freed from its ceaseless dread.'"¹ This Vergil confessed to have had from the Cumaeian sibyl, who in turn may have had it from some revelation concerning the only Savior, and felt compelled to make it known.²

St. Augustine, writing in his hundred and fourth Epistle to Nectarius, meets the obvious objection to this interpretation of

¹ Eclogue iv, 13-14.

² *Nam omnino non est cui alteri praeter Dominum Christum dicat genus humanum:*

*Te duce si qua manent sceleris vestigia nostri
Inrita perpetua solvent formidine terras.*

*Quod ex Cumaeo id est ex Sibyllino carmine se fassus est transtulisse Virgilium
quoniam fortassis etiam illa vates aliquid de unico Salvatore in spiritu audierat
quod necesse habuit confiteri.*

(Epist. 258, 5, ad Marcianum.)

adulatory verses, addressed, as he says, "to a certain magnate," by saying that Vergil nevertheless confessed having taken them from the Cumaeian oracle as from an authoritative prophet. And Augustine becomes bolder in the tenth book of *Civitas Dei*, where again he quotes the Vergilian verses and adds:

With poetic artifice doubtless, since he allegorizes under the *veil* of another person, but most truly referring to Christ himself, the noblest of poets sings, *Te duce, etc.*, meaning that even in those well along the road of righteousness some crime may still cling, at least its vestiges, of a nature incurable except by this Savior of whom the verses speak.³

That Vergil was not conscious of his mission is not strange; the Fathers have held it unnecessary that the prophet be aware of the divine source of his inspiration and have John for their authority in the case of Caiaphas: "And this spake he not of himself." If, then, such as Caiaphas prophesied unawares, how much more the poet-prophet — *vates* — whom God had lovingly prepared to serve Christ with his *excelsa poesia*!

I have drawn on only twenty pages of Padre Espinosa's eleventh chapter, where begin the two hundred sixty pages that summon scores of witnesses to testify to the genuinely vaticinal function of Vergil. Whether a case is made out the reader will decide according to his own principles of evidence. He will, however, during the argument enjoy the zest of the advocate and his unquestionably close acquaintance with Latin literatures, golden and silver, late or low; he will derive much profit from this novel approach to the poet, if indeed it is novel to him; if familiar, the approach will be even more delightful because the path begins at the base of Pichincha, and along it many an exotic flower will spring. Of the whole book it may be said that it is the work of an accomplished Latinist who with truly religious devotion has scrutinized all that can bear upon Vergil.⁴

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³ . . . *quae non nisi ab illo Salvatore sanantur, de quo iste versus expressus est.*

⁴ There is an index of about four hundred Vergilian citations and another of about as many proper names.

BESSIE ELLEN RICHARDSON, *Old Age among the Ancient Greeks*,

The Greek Portrayal of Old Age in Literature, Art, and Inscriptions, with a Study of the Duration of Life among the Ancient Greeks on the Basis of Inscriptional Evidence (Johns Hopkins University Studies in Archaeology, No. 16): Baltimore, Johns Hopkins Press (1933). Pp. xvi + 376. \$4.

A truly old-fashioned title page, which in spite of its inclusiveness fails adequately to describe the book. It is a careful study of the representation in art of the personification of old age, Geras, and of old men, preceded by five chapters on the representation of old age in Greek literature and followed by a chapter on aged silens and centaurs. This last is in itself a good piece of work but does not come within the scope of the title, inclusive as it is. It develops that all silens are aged, conventionally so (p. 191). But the depiction of silenic lasciviousness is surely not indicative of or germane to the depiction of old age among the Greeks.

The first chapters are the weakest part of the book. The material is not well composed. The impression the layman in archaeology gets is that Miss Richardson is, as might be expected of one of Robinson's pupils, thoroughly qualified in that field. In the literature one is not so sure. On page 363 she remarks that she consulted nearly all the Greek authors, on page xiii that she means the Greek literature of all periods. Surely this is a large order. Has the Hippocratic corpus nothing of value on old age? And we miss Lysias with his old beggar and the anecdote in Aelian, *V. H.* ii, 34. Does the author include the Byzantine period, and if not, where does she stop?

One dislikes to see in Oedipus at Colonus "a pathetic picture of doddering, desiccated senility" (p. 3). Does Medea anywhere renew the youth of *Jason* (p. 60)?¹ Can the chorus in the *Agamemnon* be said to "take counsel" as to the plan of action when they hear the death cry of the king (p. 20)? It is very curious to con-

¹ The statement in the Hypothesis to the *Medea* that Pherecydes and Simonides say that Medea rejuvenated Jason must at best refer to a very rare form of the story.

sider their confused suggestions indicative of the strength of old age in counsel. The "old soldiers of Brasidas" (p. 38) have nothing more to do with senility than has Bairnsfather's "Old Bill."

The personification of old age as Geras (Ch. vi) and the representation of old age in Greek painting (Ch. vii) are treated with sure touch and with interesting archaeological detail, very helpful to the layman, though in numerous places one may question the interpretation of the scene depicted. Chapters viii and ix discuss old age in sculpture. Here the treatment does not seem quite so sure. Chapter x deals with terra cottas, gems, coins, and intaglios. Chapter xii gives an interesting discussion of outstanding examples of longevity. They are culled from literary sources. Each is properly documented and the list is impressive, the more so as many in the sixties, some even in the fifties, are included. Chapter xiii is a *tour de force* which represents much hard work. It deals with the average duration of life among the Greeks on the basis of inscriptional evidence and rests on no fewer than 2022 sepulchral inscriptions, but to the reviewer the results seem vitiated by the fact that every germane inscription couched in Greek is included, though very many are from Rome and many more from Egypt. Of twenty-seven on page 278 only three are from Greece, of twenty-six on page 279 only three; and these proportions are not unusual. Many of the names listed are clearly Roman or Egyptian. The criterion seems to be not whether the person mentioned was a Greek but whether our information regarding him comes to us in Greek form; and the results are curious. If a Greek reached maturity, he had an excellent chance of reaching old age. As might be expected, the mortality between the ages of sixteen and twenty-five is tremendous. By the latter year 55½ per cent are dead, by forty 76 per cent; and the ages run from there to one hundred and ten (three over one hundred). It is hard to believe that such results are correct. May not the answer be that the age of death is given only when it is significant, that is, untimely or at an advanced age? Otherwise we get the curious result that about half as many people died between forty-one and forty-five as between thirty-six and forty

and that only twenty times as many people died between forty-one and forty-five as between one hundred and one hundred and ten.

There are twenty-seven excellent illustrations, and the appendices and bibliography occupy about 135 of the 376 pages of the book.

There are two curious blunders, one in Latin, one in Greek: To Pliny (*N. H.* xxxvi, 5, 32) is ascribed the phrase *anus inebria* (p. 168); the English "inebriate" has misled our author. In the corrigenda we are told that φαλαρός should be read for "φαλαρός" (p. 8). Really the error is more fundamental, for the word for bald is φαλαρός, which will not fit into the pun at all.

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RICHARD MANSFIELD HAYWOOD, *Studies on Scipio Africanus* (Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science, Series LI, No. 1): Baltimore, Johns Hopkins Press (1933). Pp. 114. \$1.

Richard Mansfield Haywood in the Johns Hopkins monograph to which he very modestly gives the title, *Studies on Scipio Africanus*, does not propose to rewrite the entire biography of this distinguished Roman but only to "discuss several unsettled problems connected with Scipio's character and career." In the first chapter the author breaks the Scipionic legend into its component parts with the conclusion that in place of being a unity the legend has been made of several distinct elements by different men in separate ages; therefore, it cannot be regarded as a correct picture of Scipio and of his influence during his lifetime.

In attempting to arrive at the truth in regard to Polybius' judgment of Scipio the author is able to explain several difficulties in Polybius' account of Scipio on the supposition that the elder Laelius, Polybius' probable source for much of the information about Scipio, may not have checked Polybius' history before it was published. The difference in nationality and in relative age between Laelius and Polybius may be the cause of some of

the seeming inaccuracies in the Greek's account. Haywood finds no evidence for regarding Scipio as a mystic.

In the third and fourth chapters the author discusses Scipio's career by a detailed study of his contemporaries. Haywood rightly places a limitation upon such studies as those of Münzer and Schur. "All Roman history cannot be explained as 'family politics,' even if complete genealogies of all Roman families were available." Scipio's influence on the history of his own times was very important, particularly in the promotion of Hellenism, in the directing of the wars with Philip and with Antiochus, and in the liberalizing of the foreign policy of Rome. Haywood believes that Africanus' influence during these wars was probably as important as that of his earlier period. Most of Scipio's biographers have been unwilling to grant such prestige to Scipio in this later period.

In chapter five our author, in direct disagreement with Mommsen, believes that reliable elements can be detected in Valerius Antias' history of the years from 187 to 184 as preserved by Livy. From these the modern scientific historian can reconstruct facts which Antias, "an extremely careless historian," could not. "It is not likely that he [Antias] deliberately inserted fictitious incidents or invented data such as the names and the official records involved in these prosecutions." In this same chapter Haywood in a very reasonable presentation shows that the influence of the Scipionic party suffered its first eclipse in 195 when Cato was elected consul "partly because of a contemporary reaction against the continued warfare. . . . From the year 190 on Cato was active against members of the Scipionic group. . . . By 187 the influence of the Scipionic group was definitely on the wane."

This monograph will prove a source of additional information to readers who have had their interest in Scipio Africanus renewed as a result of the work of Scullard and of the recent and more popular biography by Captain Liddell-Hart. Haywood seems justified in questioning Mommsen's dogmatic assertions in certain points pertaining to Scipio's last years. The author suc-

ceeds in settling to our satisfaction several of the "unsettled problems connected with Scipio's character and career." Students of Scipio and of his age, as well as popular readers, should welcome this addition to the Scipionic literature.

RUTH MARTIN BROWN

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JACKSONVILLE, ILLINOIS

H. RACKHAM, *Aristotle, The Politics*, With an English Translation (Loeb Classical Library): London, William Heinemann; New York, G. P. Putnam's Sons (1932). Pp. xxiii + 684. \$2.50.

No one should attempt to read the *Politics* of Aristotle without first having read the *Ethics*. In the *Ethics* care has been taken to stress the human qualities most worth cultivating — the sense of justice, the golden mean, and the striving for the appropriate in word and deed. In the *Politics* Aristotle reiterates again and again that the development of such qualities demands leisure and that leisure is not within the reach of the artisan, the trader whose chief objective is the accumulation of wealth, or of the natural slave whose lack of native gifts condemns him to an inferior position. Indeed it seems that Aristotle had a rather poor opinion of the great mass of men and even a worse opinion of those human beings who were so unfortunate as to be born women.

He devotes one of his eight books to a criticism of the *Republic* and *Laws* of Plato and there are incidental criticisms of Plato scattered through the whole treatise. There are many passages in which he must have had in mind the career of world conquest of Alexander the Great. It seems as if he were wrestling rather unsuccessfully with himself in an attempt to approve of what his former pupil was doing. The modern reader will find here and there sentences that will stimulate his thought and well repay him for a careful examination of the book. A few of these sentences are presented here in the thought that they may quicken some one's interest in a field that ought to be profitable for all who are searching for the elements of a good life:

Ambition and love of money are the motives that, perhaps, bring about the greatest part of the voluntary wrongdoing that takes place among mankind.

As man is the best of animals when he is perfected, so he is the worst of all when sundered from law and justice.

All men engaged in wealth-getting try to increase their money to an unlimited extent.

All the discourses of Socrates possess brilliance, cleverness, originality, and keenness of inquiry, but it is, of course, difficult to be right about everything.

A man would be thought a coward if he were only as brave as a brave woman, and a woman a chatterer if she were only as modest as a good man.

It is possible that the many, though not individually good men, yet when they come together may be better, not individually but collectively, than those who are individually good men.

When there are a number of persons without political honors and in poverty, the city is sure to be full of enemies.

The best flutes belong to those who play them best.

Passion warps the rule of even the best men. The law is wisdom without desire.

It is proper to consider not only what is the best constitution but also what one is possible of achievement.

There is no element of virtue in any of the occupations in which the multitude of artisans and market people and wage earners take part.

Most peoples seem to think that despotic rule is statesmanship and are not ashamed to practice towards others treatment which they declare to be unjust and detrimental for themselves.

The active life is not necessarily active in relation to other men, as some people think; nor are only those processes of thought active which are pursued for the sake of objects that result from action, but far more should be accounted active those speculations and thoughts which have their end in themselves and are pursued for their own sake.

The virtuous man will use even poverty, disease, and the other forms of bad fortune in a noble manner.

The athlete's habit of body is not serviceable for bodily fitness as required by a citizen nor for health and parentage.

One must not make amusement the object of education of the young; for amusement does not go with learning — learning is a painful process.

Professor Rackham is to be congratulated on having produced a very readable version of the *Politics*. Professor W. D. Ross in reviewing this book in the *Classical Review* (September, 1933)

gives our translator high praise for his work in reconstituting the Greek text. This Oxford scholar, who is most competent to pronounce on such a matter, says that Mr. Rackham's text is "an improvement on all previous texts."

It is suggested that one who has read the *Ethics* and *Politics* may find it interesting and profitable to read the *Analects* of Confucius and the *Doctrine of the Mean* (the work of the grandson of Confucius), in which many parallels of the fundamental doctrines of Aristotle may be found.

CHARLES N. SMILEY

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ARCHIBALD WEIR, *For To-Day*, Modern Thoughts Secured on the Fame of Marcus Aurelius: Oxford, Basil Blackwell (1933). Pp. viii + 220. 8s. 6d.

The scope and purpose of this book are clearly set forth in a paragraph on its jacket, presumably written by the author. It reads :

Orthodox teaching has proved to be in need of modernizing. Orthodox teaching has proved to be too little mindful of Self. Ancient writings dedicated To Himself, who is conventionally supposed to have been the Emperor Marcus Aurelius, offer much that will supply these wants of orthodox teaching. This book sets forth lessons to be gained from this study. But it does not claim authority for the scripture other than manifest relevance to modern needs and evident regard for self universal and for the interests of self in this world.

The dedication runs thus :

To the Greekless, the Graceless, and the Fearless this essay towards the brave life is offered without any reserves. No notice is sought from the timid, the smug, or the pedantic.

This attitude of high disdain is maintained throughout the book.

The author assures us that "the book is in no sense a digest." The method followed is the citation of proof texts from "the scripture," i.e., from the *Thoughts of Marcus Aurelius*, as bases for the various parts of the argument. While this method is perhaps a legitimate one considering the purpose of the author, it

certainly cannot be expected to result in the production of a work breathing the sentiment and spirit of the one on whose "fame it is secured" (p. 108). In recent years the author has published a series of works setting forth his philosophy of life. References to these and quotations from them occur frequently.

The chapter headings are Modernism, Order, Others, Piety, The Inward Search, Brothers, Society, The Private Person, Tranquillity, Humility.

The modernist attitude advocated by the author will be preserved with difficulty, "for the most detached among us cannot quite divest themselves of the hysterias which centuries of hypocrisy have bequeathed to this generation." Guidance and support may be gained, however, by "studying the last expression of reasoned conduct before thought and high seriousness were overwhelmed by the intransigent forces that shaped our era." Again he tells us that "Every thought in the collection was registered and proved before the world was submerged in a false flood of sanctities and hypocrisies." *O tempora! O mores!*

The main thesis of the book is the glorification and exaltation of Self:

Lives begin and end alone. . . . It is the timid and grasping who are forced to strive to enslave the single life in the service of the community. . . . The love of humans as humans, most unlovely creatures as they are, which has spoilt the professions of most evangelizing spirits in our era, could not occur to minds trained in a doctrine of ideal self-control. . . . Humans are not beings to be loved but anomalies to be borne in patient understanding. . . . Humans in the mass are always wrong and generally vicious.

It is admitted, however, that

The interests of self demand indulgent behaviour towards those especially linked with our lot . . . and grudges are inimical to self's bliss. . . . Others in their multitudes are the proper subjects for self's solicitude, but only for the sake of self. . . . Society is only a means for enabling self to gather in its own. . . . Pure altruism leads nowhere.

Twice we are definitely informed that there "has never been a social system worth preserving."

Emphasis is laid upon the passages in Marcus Aurelius in

which approval of suicide is expressed. Our author tells us that the whole faith of modernism is concentrated in this counsel of despair.

At the present day the area of discussion is enlarged by the use of many and various ways for ending life. The ancient world was but poorly provided with lethal expedients. Carbon monoxide would then have seemed a boon from the gods.

Opinions on the subject differ, he tells us, ranging from absolute veto on suicide to advocacy for the employment of municipal lethal chambers. . . . The outstanding question for our day is, could we face up to the contingencies of daily life if we were not assured that powerful anaesthetics are always at hand and that the means of self-release are many and convenient.

It is, of course, impossible in a brief review to give an adequate synopsis of the author's system of philosophy, but the reviewer believes that the quotations given above fairly represent the general tone and trend of the work. Though many references to the *Thoughts* are given as bases for the views expressed, the book, as has been said before, does not breathe the sentiment and spirit of the one on whose "fame it is secured."

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Hints for Teachers

[Edited by Dorothy M. Bell of Oberlin, Ohio. The aims of this department are threefold: to assist the inexperienced teacher of Latin, to help the experienced teacher keep in touch with matters of interest in the professional world, and to serve as a receiving center and distributing point for questions and contributions on teaching problems. Questions will be answered by mail or in the pages of this department. Contributions in the form of short paragraphs dealing with projects, tests, interest devices, methods, and materials are requested. Anything intended for publication should be typed on stationery of regular size. All correspondence should be addressed to the editor of this department.]

Suggested Activities for High School Classical Clubs

The Classical Society of Townsend Harris High School, the preparatory department of the College of the City of New York, has built up a flourishing organization on the slogan "*Facta Non Verba.*" It has grown in a year's time to a membership of 125; there are approximately six hundred students taking Latin. Weekly meetings are held at which prominent classicists frequently speak. For example, on March 8 R. V. D. Magoffin of New York University gave an illustrated lecture on "Vistas along the Highway of Classical Education" before a gathering of five hundred students and teachers, comprising nearly half of the school's enrollment; on March 22 Charles Knapp of Columbia University spoke on "Roman Business Life as Seen in Horace" before an equally large audience.

A point system is in practice. Points are awarded for a bewildering variety of activities carried on by the members. Competition is very keen. Ten prizes are awarded at the end of the term to the high-standing members; certificates of merit to others winning a certain number of points, at present set at one hundred; these members become the elite and form the inner circle of the organization. Points are awarded for holding office, winning contests (first ten usually counted), attending meetings, high scholastic standing in Latin classes (first five in each sec-

tion), taking part in the various activities, such as entertainments, Latin play, declamations, debates, and club paper.

The contests for points are of varied nature: 1) advertising — securing advertisements containing words of Latin or Greek origin, collected and mounted for exhibition purposes; 2) original drawings on classical subjects; 3) making models of classical implements of war or peace; 4) declamations and essays on classical subjects; 5) marking words of Greek or Latin derivation on a column or page of a daily paper; 6) making Latin anagrams from a given Latin or English phrase; 7) finding English derivatives from a common Latin verb root; etc.

The club issues a paper called "The Tuba"; gives a Latin play each term (last term a humorous classroom scene in Latin was staged to the great amusement and entertainment of a large audience); has two entertainments featuring recitations, skits, musical numbers, etc., always with refreshments; holds debates and open-meeting discussions (on any subjects whatsoever); enjoys occasional meetings of games.

The program of the club is so arranged as to touch the interests of every possible type of student — the greatest good for the greatest number. Practically every member takes part in one or more activities.

A Roman Banquet — More Ideas

On the twenty-first of April of each year the fourth-year Latin students of the Antigo High School hold a Roman banquet, to which the parents of the members are invited. This takes place about the time that the students are reading the fourth book of the *Aeneid*. The students select a Dido, an Aeneas, an Ascanius, a faithful Achates; in fact, each member has some Latin name. As the guests arrive, slaves stand at the door to tell the guests to enter "right foot forward."

When all are assembled, a student tells the story of the *Aeneid*, its purpose, and its place in literature, reads the banquet scene (*Aen.* I, 697-710), and introduces the characters who are seated at the head table. Then slaves bring in water for the hands, after

which the first course, an egg salad — *olivae, ova, lactuca* — is served. During the interval between the *gustatio* and the *cena prima* Aeneas requests Ascanius to sing for Dido, and he responds with "Yankee Doodle" in Latin. Then Aeneas asks the Trojans to join in a song with him, "For He's a Jolly Good Fellow" in Latin. The first course, or *cena prima*, consists of *porcus, panis, cicera viridia*. The bread is always baked in large, round loaves and is cut from the centre. During the second interval Dido summons a Greek slave to dance. *Placentae, mala, nuces, vinum Falernum* — cake, apples, nuts, and punch — make up the last course. After this the entire class unites in singing "America the Beautiful" in Latin. The program concludes with the showing of slides illustrating the founding of Rome and perhaps (since the parents are present) some remarks on the value of Latin as a practical subject.

I regard the Roman banquet as a most worth-while project. Students do much reading without thinking it something required; they make simple costumes out of cheesecloth, have their pictures taken, and the whole affair is something to be remembered. The girls who serve are those freshmen who have maintained an "A" throughout the year and consider it a great honor to be allowed to help.

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Poems from the Latin Classroom

Many bits of verse, inspired in high school students by the lyric Muse, are sent in from time to time to the editorial office of the JOURNAL. In subject matter these little poems have to do with Latin as Latin or with some phase of the pupils' reading. Some are serious, and some are humorous. Some are very clever; some are not. While it is contrary to the long-established policy of the JOURNAL to publish verse, either original or translated, unless it is an essential part of an article or departmental item, we wish to give every encouragement to such expression on the

part of young students. It indicates that Latin still lives and delights the high school pupil. A recent contribution gives proof that even Caesar may well be on the high school pupil's level of understanding (if the story is given half a chance and not made a mere excuse for drill in syntax and forms), that a battle in the Gallic War may be a theme for song to present generations, and that the *Commentaries* still deserve an honored place in the high school curriculum.

"This Little Pig Went to Market"

A Latin version of Sam Coslow's lyric, "This Little Pig Went to Market," had its première on March 2 in the Junior High School assembly at Kansas State Teachers College, Pittsburg, Kansas. It was sung by Janus Broome, radio singer of WMBH, assisted by the girls of the Latin II class of the school. A special feature was the dolls who cried at the proper place.

Other readers of this department may desire to borrow the song for use in their classes or on Latin programs for high school assemblies. Samuel J. Pease of the Kansas State Teachers College has kindly supplied this department with a copy of the Latin words. The editor will be glad to furnish copies on request.

The Personal Pronoun *Sui*

Mr. Bernard M. Allen of Roxbury School, Cheshire, Connecticut, in a recent note makes an interesting comment on the use of the pronoun *sui*. He points out that Bennett (*Latin Grammar* 84, 85) gives *mei* and *tui* as both personal and reflexive pronouns. He objects that, if this is true, then in the sentence, "He came with me," *me* is a personal pronoun, whereas, in "I brought him home with me," *me* is a reflexive pronoun — a distinction hardly worth while. He believes it simpler to class *sui* as a personal pronoun with the statement that it is always used to refer to the subject of its clause or of the main clause of the sentence. He notes an interesting parallel in Greek where the corresponding pronoun *οὗ* is a personal pronoun. In Attic Greek only is it limited to reflexive uses (Goodwin and Gulick 986). If we had dialectic Latin preserved, we might find *sui* freed from its reflexive limitations.

Current Events

[Edited by Clarence W. Gleason, Roxbury Latin School, Boston, Mass., and John Barker Stearns, Dartmouth College, Hanover, N. H., for territory covered by the Associations of New England and the Atlantic States; Victor D. Hill, Ohio University, Athens, Ohio, for the Middle States east of the Mississippi River; George Howe, the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, N. C., for the Southeastern States; Eugene Tavenner, Washington University, St. Louis, Mo.; for the Southwestern States; and Franklin H. Potter, the University of Iowa, Iowa City, Ia., for the territory of the Association west of the Mississippi, exclusive of Louisiana and Texas. News from the Pacific Coast may be sent to Frederic S. Dunn, University of Oregon, Eugene, Ore.

This department will present everything that is properly news of general appeal, but considerations of space compel the editor to ask that items be made as brief as possible. Whenever feasible, it is preferable to print programs of meetings which would draw an attendance from a large area as live news in advance of the date rather than as dead news after the event. In this connection it should be remembered that the December issue, e.g., appears on November fifteenth and that items must be in hand five or six weeks in advance of this date.]

Athens

The fourth campaign of the American School and the Greek government is under way in five different sectors of the Athenian Agora. The Managing Committee is now receiving weekly reports from Dr. Shear, Field Director of the big dig.

All sorts of interesting things are coming to light. Among the 165 recently discovered inscriptions is an additional piece of the famous auction list of the effects of Alcibiades—tables, armchairs, *et cetera*, with the prices at which they were knocked down. Another supplies the long-desired name of the archon of 176 B.C., Speusippus. Still another gives us the name of Dionysius as archon in 128-7.

Quantities of pottery, whole vases and sherds, ranging from Mycenaean to Roman are constantly coming to light.

Interesting sculptures, too, are among the finds—notably a late fifth or early fourth century marble group of two girls, one carrying the other on her back.

A torrential rain and a heavy fall of snow lasting through a day and a half interfered with the work for some time in February.

The most important discoveries of this season are foundations that evidently belonged to the Tholos (the round building where the

Prytanes dined every day and where the preliminary examination of Socrates before his trial was held) and the Metroum (the temple of the Mother of the Gods). These two interesting buildings are now definitely located just to the south of the old excavation in front of the "Theseum," considerably farther to the north than any one had hitherto calculated. This discovery necessitates a complete revision of the identification of all the buildings already named: The "Theseum" is apparently neither Theseum nor Hephaesteum; the "Royal Stoa" is almost surely not the Royal Stoa. This apparently must be sought north of the electric railway.

A suggestion of the magnitude of the undertaking may be given in the fact that in the first three weeks of this year, in spite of the handicaps of unfavorable weather, 11,375 cartloads of earth have been removed, and 1513 coins added to the thousands already rescued from the accumulations of centuries.

Corinth

Invitations for the formal opening of the new Museum at Corinth have been issued by the Trustees of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens. The building is the gift of Mrs. William H. Moore of New York. The dedication will take place at Old Corinth on April 30, 1934.

With the fine new home for the American excavators, provided a few years ago through the generosity of Mr. Horace Oakley of Chicago, and this really magnificent new Museum, a worthy home for the rich finds at Corinth, the old city at the Isthmus will become an ever more and more attractive place of pilgrimage for tourists and scholars.

Sewanee, Tennessee

The Tennessee Philological Association held its twenty-eighth annual meeting at the University of the South, Sewanee, March 2 and 3, 1934. The following papers on classical themes were presented: "Floriculture among the Ancient Romans," Isabelle Johnson, Tennessee College; "Cicero the Advocate," Arthur Crownover, Nashville; "Classicism," H. M. Gass, University of the South; "On the Origin of the Future Tense," A. W. McWhorter, University of Tennessee; "The Electra Story in Greek Tragedy," James A. Robins, Vanderbilt University; "A Study of the Prodigies in Livy," Arthur Moser, University of Tennessee; "Quintilian's Views on Legal Ethics," Charles E. Little, George Peabody College; "Everyday Phonetics," Edwin Lee Johnson, Vanderbilt University; "Substitutions for the Greek Chorus in the Tragedies of Shakespeare" (President's Address), Ellene Ransom, Ward-Belmont School.

Officers elected for the year 1934-35 are: President, George M. Baker, University of the South; Vice President, A. W. McWhorter, University of Tennessee; Secretary-Treasurer, Edwin Lee Johnson, Vanderbilt University. R. B. Steele, who was absent from the meeting on account of illness, was elected Honorary President for life.

The 1935 meeting will be held at the University of Tennessee, Knoxville.

Providence, Rhode Island

The twenty-ninth annual meeting of the Classical Association of New England was held at Brown University, Providence, Rhode Island, April 6 and 7, 1934.

Papers on the following subjects were read: "Pliny the Younger, Paragon of Good Manners," Alfred C. Andrews, University of Maine; "Fishing in Homer" (Illustrated), Herbert N. Couch, Brown University; "Six Weeks in Greece," Sylvia Lee, Winsor School, Boston; "The Administrator and the Classics," Clarence W. Bosworth, Principal, Cranston High School, Cranston, R. I.; "A Footpath in the Wilderness," Stella Mayo Brooks, Spaulding High School, Barre, Vermont; "The Literary Necessity of Anthropomorphism," Alfred C. Schlesinger, Williams College; "A Yankee's Impressions of Ancient Greece," Hon. Theodore Francis Green, Governor of Rhode Island; "Vassal Queens of the Roman Empire" (Illustrated), Grace H. Macurdy, Vassar College; "Ptolemy's Zoo," Harry M. Hubbell, Yale University; "Descriptions of Personal Appearance in Roman History and Biography," Elizabeth C. Evans, Wheaton College; "The Nero Legend," Russel M. Geer, Brown University; "Education's New Deal, Latin's Opportunity," Marie Merrill, Winthrop Senior High School, Winthrop, Mass.; "Latin and the Social Arts," Thornton Jenkins, Headmaster, Malden High School, Malden, Mass.; "Beekeeping in Antiquity," Frank Cole Babbitt, Trinity College; "Is Aeneas an Adult?" Francis Curran, Putnam High School, Putnam, Conn.

Mississippi

Last March the Mississippi Classical Association sponsored a Latin tournament which proved very successful in its beginning year. The word "tournament" is probably a misnomer, as it was really a state-wide testing project. Over eleven hundred pupils took the tests in their own classrooms under the supervision of their teachers. The papers were graded by the teachers, and the best papers were sent to the college teachers who did the final grading. The Tupelo High School won three first places; Gulfport High School won one first place. The average rat-

ing of the first-year Latin pupils was 70, the second year 71, the Cicero pupils 75.8, the Vergil 83.1. These averages were made out by the president of the association, to whom the teachers reported all grades. On account of the differences in grading the averages are not entirely accurate. They did, however, give an approximate standard. The teachers reported their grades with considerable fidelity. One teacher reported an entire department in which no student passed. This teacher wrote that the tests had made her realize what she lacked as a teacher and that she intended to study in the summer before facing her classes another year. Her letter alone is evidence of the success of the project. All types of schools were represented in the tournament: public high schools in the larger and smaller towns, private schools, consolidated schools, and agricultural high schools. Because of financial conditions throughout the state no large awards could be given. The chapter of Eta Sigma Phi at Mississippi State College for Women offered to provide the cost of matriculation for the fourth-year girl ranking highest.

The tournament was directed and inspired by Martha Frances Allen, Instructor in Latin at All Saints College, Vicksburg. The Latin Department of the University of Mississippi secured the interest of the Italian Government, which presented a gold medal to the highest ranking pupil in the Vergil contest.

Under the direction of Edwina Ford, Latin Instructor, North Mississippi Synodical College, and President of the State Classical Association, active preparations are being made for the 1934 tournament.

Greensboro, North Carolina

The college professors of Latin and Greek in the state met on January sixth at Woman's College, University of North Carolina, in Greensboro.

Among the points of interest discussed in the meeting these were the most outstanding: the enrollment in Latin classes in the high schools and colleges of the state; the introduction of beginning Latin in the college curriculum. The latter was unanimously approved, and it was agreed that there should be a clearer understanding of policies and points of view between the colleges and the high schools of the state and between the colleges and the State Department of Education. The group decided that a committee should be appointed to confer with the North Carolina College Conference and with the State Department of Education with regard to policies affecting Latin in the high school.

It is hoped that with the proper interest aroused the meeting may result in something significant not only for Latin but for language teaching in general in North Carolina.

Recent Books¹

[Compiled by Russel M. Geer, Brown University.]

ATWATER, RICHARD, *Secret History of Procopius*, Translated, Cheaper Edition: New York, Covici, Friede (1934). Pp. 286. \$1.

BONNER, CAMPBELL, *A Papyrus Codex of the Shepherd of Hermas* (S-militudes 2-9), With a Fragment of the Mandates, Edited with an Introduction and Notes: Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Press (1934). Pp. xii + 138, 5 plates. \$3.

BURCK, ERICH, *Die Erzählungskunst des T. Livius* (Problemata—Forschungen zur klassischen Philologie, Heft 11): Berlin, Weidmannsche Buchhandlung (1934). Pp. x + 244. M. 16.

CHAPIN, CHRISTINA, *Sanctuary*: Oxford, Basil Blackwell; Boston, Houghton Mifflin Co. (1934). Pp. 31. 3s. 6d.; \$2.

CELLI, ANGELO, *History of Malaria in the Roman Campagna from Ancient Times*, Edited and Enlarged by Anna Celli-Fraentzel: London, John Bale, Sons, and Danielsson (1933). Pp. viii + 226. 10s. 6d.

CUMMING, CHARLES G., *Assyrian and Hebrew Hymns of Praise* (Columbia Oriental Studies, Vol. XII): New York, Columbia University Press (1934). Pp. 176. \$3.

FERLET, JULES, *Population Problems of the Time of Augustus*, Translated by H. R. Carey (Monograph Series, No. 7): Cold Spring Harbor, N. Y., Eugenics Research Association (1933). Pp. 42. \$0.50.

FORSTER, EDWARD S., and WEBSTER, THOMAS B. L., *Anthology of Greek Verse*: Manchester, Eng., University Press (1933). Pp. vi + 168. 4s.

HAFFTER, HEINZ, *Untersuchungen zur altlateinischen Dichtersprache* (Problemata—Forschungen zur klassischen Philologie, Heft 10): Berlin, Weidmannsche Buchhandlung (1934). Pp. viii + 153. M. 10.

HAMILTON, J. ARNOTT, *Byzantine Architecture and Decoration*: London, B. T. Batsford; New York, Charles Scribner's Sons (1934). Pp. 180. 18s.; \$7.50.

HOLLIS, F. J., *Archaeology of Herod's Temple*, With a Commentary on the Tractate Middoth: London, J. M. Dent and Sons; New York, E. P. Dutton and Co. (1934). Pp. xiv + 366. 18s.; \$5.

¹ Including books received at the Editorial Office of the CLASSICAL JOURNAL, Columbia, Mo.

IMMISCH, OTTO, *Catulls Sappho*: Heidelberg, Carl Winter (1933). Pp. 17. M. 0.80.

JONES, CHESTER H., *Ancient Architecture*, Prehistoric, Egyptian, Western Asian, Greek and Roman, a Commentary in Verse: London, B. T. Batsford (1934). Pp. 224. 15s.

KYLE, MELVIN G., *Excavating Kirjath-Sepher's Ten Cities* (James Sprunt Lectures, 1932): Grand Rapids, Mich., Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co. (1934). Pp. 203. \$2.50.

MATTHEW, *The Gospel According to Saint Matthew* (From the Clementine, Vulgate), With Introduction, Notes, and Vocabulary by James A. Varni: Milwaukee, Bruce Publishing Co. (1934). Pp. 112. \$0.88.

NEWELL, EDWARD T., *Two Hoards from Minturno* (Numismatic Notes and Monographs, No. 60): New York, American Numismatic Society (1933). Pp. 38, with 5 plates. \$1.

NOCH, ARTHUR D., *Conversion. The Old and New in Religion from Alexander the Great to Augustine of Hippo*: London and New York, Oxford University Press (1933). Pp. xii + 309. 15s.; \$5.

ROSSITER, A. P., *Julius Caesar*, From the Histories of Julius Caesar and Brutus in North's Plutarch, Put into Basic (Psyche Miniatures): London, George Routledge and Sons (1933). Pp. 143. 2s. 6d.

ROUSE, WILLIAM H. D., *Gods, Heroes, and Men of Ancient Greece*: London, John Murray (1934). Pp. 258. 7s. 6d.

Thesaurus Linguae Latinae, Vol. VII, 1, Fasc. I, i—ico: Leipzig, Teubner (1934). Coll. 160. M. 10.

TRACY, STERLING, *Philo Judaeus and the Roman Principate*: Williamsport, Pa., Bayard Press (1933). Pp. 55.

TREADGOLD, G. W. R., *Elements of Latin Prose Composition*: Cambridge, Eng., University Press (1934). Pp. xlvi + 248. 3s. 6d.

WORMALD, R. D., *Higher Certificate Latin Test Papers* (Test Examination Series): London, Methuen and Co. (1934). Pp. 72. 1s. 6d.